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University of the State of New York

NEW YORK STATE MUSEUM

57th ANNUAL REPORT

1903

VOL. 2

APPENDIXES 6-7

TRANSMITTED TO THE LEGISLATURE JAN. 6, 1904, BY THE REGENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY

ALBANY
UNIVERSITY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK
1905

University of the State of New York

REGENTS 1903

With years of election

1892 William Croswell Doane D.D. LL.D. *Chancellor*, Albany
1878 Whitelaw Reid M.A. LL.D. *Vice Chancellor* New York
1877 Chauncey M. Depew LL.D. - - - - New York
1877 Charles E. Fitch LL.B. M.A. L.H.D. - - Rochester
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1881 Henry E. Turner LL.D. - - - - - Lowville
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1895 Charles R. Skinner M.A. LL.D.
Superintendent of Public Instruction, ex officio
1897 Chester S. Lord M.A. LL.D. - - - - Brooklyn
1900 Thomas A. Hendrick M.A. LL.D. - - - Rochester
1901 Benjamin B. Odell jr LL.D. Governor, ex officio
1901 Robert C. Pruyn M.A. - - - - - Albany
1902 William Nottingham M.A. Ph.D. LL.D. - Syracuse
1903 Frank W. Higgins Lieutenant Governor, ex officio
1903 John F. O'Brien Secretary of State, ex officio
1903 Charles A. Gardiner LL.B. M.A. Ph.D. LL.D. New York
1903 Charles S. Francis B.S. - - - - Troy
One vacancy

SECRETARY

Elected by Regents

1900 James Russell Parsons jr M.A. LL.D.

STATE MUSEUM COMMITTEE 1903

Regent T. Guilford Smith *Chairman*

Regent C. S. Francis, Superintendent of Public Instruction

DIRECTORS OF DEPARTMENTS

1888 Melvil Dewey M.A. LL.D.
State Library and Home Education
1890 James Russell Parsons jr M.A. LL.D.
Administrative, College and High School Dep'ts
1890 Frederick J. H. Merrill Ph.D. *State Museum*

Appendix 6

Botany 7

Museum bulletin 75

7 Report of the State Botanist 1903

Published monthly by the

University of the State of New York

BULLETIN 313 1904

New York State Museum

CHARLES H. PECK State Botanist

Bulletin 75

BOTANY 7

REPORT OF THE STATE BOTANIST 1903

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University of the State of New York

New York State Museum

Frederick J. H. Merrill Director
Charles H. Peck State Botanist

Bulletin 75

BOTANY 7

REPORT OF THE STATE BOTANIST 1903

To the Regents of the University of the State of New York

I have the honor of submitting to you the following report of work done in the botanical department of the State Museum during the past year.

Specimens of plants for the herbarium have been collected in the counties of Albany, Columbia, Essex, Hamilton, Oswego, Rensselaer, Saratoga, Schoharie, Warren and Washington. Specimens that were collected in the counties of Chautauqua, Chemung, Essex, Herkimer, Onondago, Ontario, Richmond, Saratoga, Schoharie, Seneca, Steuben, Suffolk, Wayne and Westchester have been received from correspondents.

Specimens collected and contributed represent 193 species. Of these, 46 are new to the herbarium and 13 are considered new or undescribed species. Of the 46 species, 35 are from the collections of the state botanist, 11 from those of correspondents. Of the 13 species, 12 belong to the collections of the botanist, one to those of his correspondents. A list of the names of the species added to the herbarium is marked **A.**

A list of the names of contributors and of the names of their respective contributions is marked **B.** The number of those who have contributed specimens is 41. Some of the specimens contributed belong to extralimital species. Some were sent merely for identification, but if for any reason their preservation seemed

desirable and their condition was satisfactory, they have been preserved and credited to the sender as a contribution. The number of those who have sent specimens for identification is 90, the number of identifications made is 623.

Names of species added to our flora, with notes concerning their habitats, localities and time of collection of the specimens, with descriptions of new species are contained in a part of the report marked C.

Remarks and observations on species previously reported, new stations of rare plants, unusual habits and descriptions of new varieties may be found in a part of the report marked D.

Specimens of many species of fleshy, corky and coriaceous fungi are specially subject to the attacks of destructive insects. In order to attain greater security against these attacks a series of such specimens representing about 500 species has been placed in small pasteboard boxes with close fitting covers. These boxes are in different sizes that they may be suitable for the reception of specimens of species of different sizes. The dimensions of the boxes vary in such a way that they present a certain degree of uniformity when arranged in proper order on the shelves of wall cases. They are 3x4, 4x6 or 6x8 inches in width and length and $1\frac{1}{4}$ or $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep. The alphabetic arrangement of the genera represented by their contents has been adopted to facilitate reference to them.

The investigation of our mushroom flora has been continued, but the crop of wild mushrooms has been unusually deficient and the additions to the herbarium correspondingly small. Still, a few species have been tested for their edible qualities and found to be worthy of addition to the list of New York edible species. Colored figures of these have been prepared and plain descriptions of them may be found in a part of the report marked E.

In my last report the general deficiency of the mushroom crop and the almost total absence of the common mushroom, Agaricus campester, were recorded and the peculiar character of the season was assigned as the probable cause. The season of 1903 has been similar to that of 1902 in its abundance

of rain and in its prevailing low temperature. It has also been similar, at least in the eastern part of the State, in its adverse influence on mushroom growth. In some respects its adverse character seems to have been intensified. Possibly the excessive drouth in the early part of the season may to some extent be responsible for this by preventing the development of the mycelium of some species. In 1895 and 1896 the abundance of the crop of the common mushroom and of the smooth mushroom was remarkable. They had then apparently reached their greatest abundance. In the few following years they appeared in moderate but diminishing quantity. In 1901 but few were seen in the vicinity of Albany. In 1902 they were still less in number and in 1903 I did not see a single specimen of the common mushroom in the whole region about Albany. This species at least seems to have reached its lowest point of productiveness. The probability is that there will now be a gradual return to greater crops of this mushroom. It is very evident that much moisture, specially if attended by prevailing low temperature, is not favorable to large crops of mushrooms. Probably the most favorable seasons will be found to be those of moderate rainfall and medium or rather high temperature, the rains being gentle and frequent.

Specimens of about 75 species and varieties of edible mushrooms have been placed in trays and arranged in table cases for permanent exhibition. Specimens of species of fungi injurious to wood have also been placed in table cases, and also species of parasitic fungi destructive to cultivated and useful plants. These and samples of wood and bark affected by mycelium of various wood-destroying fungi constitute an economic collection of fungi which should be instructive and of popular interest.

The study of the Crataegus flora of the eastern part of the State has been continued and considerable time devoted to it. Specimens have been collected in the counties of Albany, Saratoga, Warren, Essex, Washington, Rensselaer and Columbia. A few have also been collected in the counties of Hamilton and Schoharie, but only a single visit was made to each of these localities,

and therefore the specimens from them are too incomplete to be satisfactory. These places must be again visited earlier in the season in order to get flowering specimens. Those who have made a special study of these trees and shrubs and have recently published many new species have given specific value to such characters as require a very complete set of specimens to make the identification certain and satisfactory. There are also some characters that are not well shown by the dried specimens and in order to make these available notes must be taken of them at the time the specimens are collected. The number of species recently described is so great that it seems very probable that mere varieties and perhaps mere forms have been in some cases described as species. But error in this direction may have a tendency to stimulate closer observation on the part of others in their efforts to recognize the fine distinctions made and may in the end be productive of better results than error in the other direction would be. According to the present understanding of these plants the number of species of Crataegus added to our flora is 19. They are specially noticed in a part of the report marked F.

A supplementary list of plants of the Susquehanna valley is marked G. It is composed of the names and annotations of species detected since the previous list was written and of species accidentally omitted from that list. It includes about 30 species.

Respectfully submitted

CHARLES H. PECK

Albany, Dec. 2, 1903

A

PLANTS ADDED TO THE HERBARIUM

New to the herbarium

Asarum reflexum *Bick.*
Aster curvescens *Burgess*
Crataegus ascendens *S.*
C. brainerdi *S.*
C. conjuncta *S.*
C. contigua *S.*
C. delucida *S.*
C. dilatata *S.*
C. dissona *S.*
C. egglestoni *S.*
C. exclusa *S.*
C. flabellata (*Spach*) *Rydb.*
C. gravesii *S.*
C. irrasa *S.*
C. intricata *Lange*
C. lobulata *S.*
C. praecoqua *S.*
C. matura *S.*
C. peckii *S.*
C. succulenta *Lk.*
Daphne mezereum *L.*
Entoloma griseum *Pk.*
Geoglossum farlowi *Cke.*
Haplosporella maclurae *E. & B.*
Hebeloma socialis *Pk.*
Hypomyces boletinus *Pk.*
Hydnum balsameum *Pk.*
H. macrescens *Banker*
Inocybe castanea *Pk.*
I. excoriata *Pk.*
I. fallax *Pk.*
I. serotina *Pk.*
I. squamosodisca *Pk*
Isaria brachiata (*Batsch*) *Schum.*
Iva xanthiifolia (*Fres.*) *Nutt.*
Lactarius subvelutinus *Pk.*
Nardia obovata (*Nees*)
Oxalis brittonae *Small*
Perilla frutescens (*L.*) *Britton*
Phacelia dubia (*L.*) *Small*
Phaeopezia retiderma (*Cke.*) *Sacc.*
Podosphaera leucotricha (*E. & E.*) *Salm.*
Sarcoscypha rhenana *Fckl.*
Stereum burtianum *Pk.*
Tricholoma subluteum *Pk.*
Ulmaria rubra *Hill*

Not new to the herbarium

Agaricus arvensis *Schaeff.*
Agrostemma githago *L.*
Agastache scrophulariaefolia (*Willd.*)
Agrostis perennans (*Walt.*) *Tuckm.*
Allium canadense *L.*
A. vineale *L.*
Alsine graminea (*L.*) *Britton*
Althaea rosea *Cav.*
Amelanchier botryapium (*L. f.*) *D C.*
A. rotundifolia (*Mx.*) *Roem.*
Antennaria parlinii *Fern.*
A. plantaginea *R. Br.*
Arcyria punicea *Pers.*
Aster rosc. variifolius *Pk.*
A. undulatus *L.*
Berberis vulgaris *L.*
Bidens cernua *L.*
Boletus americanus *Pk.*
B. chry. albocarneus *Pk.*
B. elbensis *Pk.*
B. luridus *Schaeff.*
B. piperatus *Bull.*
B. rubinellus *Pk.*
Bromus tectorum *L.*
Cantharellus cibarius *Fr.*
C. infundibuliformis (*Scop.*) *Fr.*
C. tubaeformis *Fr.*
Cardamine pennsylvanica *Muhl.*
Collybia acervata *Fr.*
C. familia *Pk.*
C. velutipes *Curt.*

Claudopus nidulans (*Pers.*) *Pk.*
Clavaria inaequalis *Mull.*
C. krombholzii *Fr.*
Conium maculatum *L.*
Coprinus micaceus *Fr.*
Cornus candidissima *Marsh.*
C. stolonifera *Mx.*
Cortinarius amarus *Pk.*
C. canescens *Pk.*
C. cinnabarinus *Fr.*
C. rigidus *Fr.*
C. uliginosus *Berk.*
Craterellus clavatus (*Pers.*) *Fr.*
Crataegus champlainensis *S.*
C. coccinea *L.*
C. crus-galli *L.*
C. holmesiana *Ashe*
C. macracantha *Lodd.*
C. modesta *S.*
C. oxyacantha *L.*
C. pringlei *S.*
C. pruinosa *Wend.*
C. punctata *Jacq.*
Dalibarda repens *L.*
Daucus carota *L.*
Echium vulgare *L.*
Entoloma grayanum *Pk.*
Euonymus obovatus *Nutt.*
Fomes fomentarius (*L.*) *Fr.*
F. igniarius (*L.*) *Fr.*
F. pinicola *Fr.*
Galera lateritia *Fr.*
Galium mollugo *L.*
G. tinctorium *L.*
Gentiana andrewsii *Griseb.*
Gratiola virginiana *L.*
Heliopsis helianthoides (*L.*) *B. S. P.*
Helvella ambigua *Karst.*
Hirneola auricula-judae (*L.*) *Berk.*
Hydnum coralloides *Scop.*
H. grav. subzonatum *Pk.*
Hygrophorus capreolaris *Kalchb.*
H. pudorinus *Fr.*
Hypericum arcyron *L.*
Hypholoma capnoides *Fr.*
H. subaquilum *Bann.*
Hypocrea fungicola *Karst.*
Lactarius affinis *Pk.*
L. deliciosus *Fr.*
L. glyciosmus *Fr.*
Lactarius subd. oculatus *Pk.*
L. vellereus *Fr.*
Lenzites sepiaria *Fr.*
Lepiota amianthina *Scop.*
Lychnis alba *Mill.*
Lycoperdon perlatum *Pers.*
Lycopodium clavatum *L.*
L. obscurum *L.*
Marasmius scorodonius *Fr.*
Matricaria matricarioides (*Less.*) *Porter*
Meibomia bracteosa (*Mx.*) *Kuntze*
Melilotus officinalis (*L.*) *Lam.*
Moneses uniflora (*L.*) *Gray*
Mycena galericulata (*Scop.*) *Fr.*
Myosotis laxa *Lehm.*
Myrica gale *L.*
Osmunda regalis *L.*
Otidea onotica (*Pers.*) *Fckl.*
Pinus echinata *Mill.*
P. strobus *L.*
Pleurotus porrigens *Pers.*
Polyporus cuticularis (*Bull.*) *Fr.*
P. picipes *Fr.*
Polystictus abietinus *Fr.*
P. hirsutus Fr.
P. perennis (*L.*) *Fr.*
Protomyces erythronii *Pk.*
Puccinia suaveolens (*Pers.*) *Rostr.*
Ribes floridum *L'Her.*
R. rubrum *L.*
Rubus canadensis *L.*
R. nigrobaccus *Bail.*
R. occid. pallidus *Bail.*
Russula furcata (*Pers.*) *Fr.*
R. dens. paxilloides *Pk.*
R. flaviceps *Pk.*
R. fragilis (*Pers.*) *Fr.*
R. purpurina *Q. & S.*
Salix discolor *Muhl.*
S. fragilis *L.*
Sanicula gregaria *Bick.*
Scirpus atrocinctus *Fern.*
S. atrovirens *Muhl.*
S. pedicellatus *Fern.*
Septoria rhoina *B. & C.*
Sisymbrium altissimum *L.*
Solidago canadensis *L.*
Spiraea salicifolia *L.*
Stropharia depilata (*Pers.*) *Fr.*

Symphytum officinale *L.*
Taraxacum taraxacum (*L.*) *Karst.*
Thelephora palmata (*Scop.*) *Fr.*
Thymus serpyllum *L.*
Tragopogon pratensis *L.*
Tricholoma sejunctum *Sow.*
T. subacutum *Pk.*
T. vaccinum (*Pers.*) *Fr.*
Ustilago zeae (*Beckm.*) *Ung.*
Uvularia sessilifolia *L.*
Valerianella radiata (*L.*) *Dufour*
Verbena angustifolia *Mx.*
Viola blanda *Willd.*
V. cucullata *Ait.*
V. labradorica *Schrank*
V. rotundifolia *Mx.*
V. selkirkii *Pursh*

B

CONTRIBUTORS AND THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS

Mrs E. G. Britton, New York

Anomodon attenuatus *Huebcn.*
A. apiculatus *B. & S.*
Bryum nutans *Schreb.*
Buxbaumia aphylla *L.*
Cephalozia curvifolia *Dumort.*
Collema plicatile *Ach.*
Cylindrothecium seductrix *Sull.*
Dicranum flagellare *Hedw.*
D. viride *Schp.*
Grimmia apocarpa *Hedw.*
Hypnum brevirostre *Ehrh.*
H. chrysophyllum *Brid.*
H. imponens *Hedw.*
H. lindbergii *Limpt.*
H. novae-angliae *S. & L.*
H. proliferum *L.*
H. schreberi *Willd.*
Hypnum triquetrum *L.*
Homalia gracilis *James*
Leptotrichum pallidum *Hampe*
Leucodon brachypus *Brid.*
Mnium aff. ciliare *C. & M.*
M. cuspidatum *Hedw.*
M. medium *B. & S.*
Philonotis fontana *Brid.*
Platygyrium repens *B. & S.*
Polytrichum juniperinum *Willd.*
Porella platyphylla *Lindb.*
Pylaisaea polyantha *B. & S.*
P. velutina *B. & S.*
Sphagnum cymbifolium *Ehrh.*
Trichostomum brev. holtii *Dixon*
Ulota crispa *Brid.*
Weisia viridula *Brid.*

Mrs H. C. Davis, Falmouth Me.

Thalesia uniflora (*L.*) *Britton*
Lysimachia vulgaris *L.*

Mrs M. S. De Coster, Little Falls

Daphne mezereum *L.*

Mrs P. H. Dudley, New York

Carex stricta *Lam.* (Culms and leaves)

Mrs L. L. Goodrich, Syracuse

Phacelia dubia (*L.*) *Small*

Miss M. Hope, Seattle Wash.

Pseudotsuga mucronata *Carr.* (Piece of bark)

Mrs M. A. Knickerbocker, San Francisco Cal.

Arbutus menziesii *Pursh*
Quercus dumosa *Nutt.*
Tumion californicum *Greene*
Umbellularia californica *Nutt.*
Rhamnus californica *Eschs.*

Miss J. A. Moses, Jamestown

Viola rotundifolia *Mx.*

Miss E. S. Thomas, Schoharie

Craterellus clavatus (*Pers.*) *Fr.*

J. C. Arthur, Lafayette Ind.

Phragmidium speciosum *Fr.*
Puccinia amphigena *Diet.*
Ravenelia portoricensis *Arth.*
Uromyces acuminatus *Arth.*
Puccinia eleocharidis *Arth.*

H. J. Banker, California Pa.

Craterellus dubius *Pk.*

W. C. Barbour, Sayre Pa.

Corticium salicinum *Fr.*
Dasyscypha virginea (*Batsch*) *Fckl.*
Fuligo violacea *Pers.*
Irpex paradoxus (*Schrad.*) *Fr.*
Isaria brachiata (*Batsch*) *Schum.*
Xylaria grandis *Pk.*

F. J. Braendle, Washington D.C.

Amanitopsis vaginata (*Bull.*) *Roze*
Clitocybe virens (*Scop.*) *Fr.*
Collybia strictipes *Pk.*
C. tort. setipes *Pk.*
Flammula spumosa *Fr.*
Lachnea hemisphaerica (*Wigg.*) *Gill.*
Pholiota lutea *Pk.*
Thelephora vialis *Schw.*

E. Bartholomew, Rockport Kan.

Tylostoma mammosum (*Mich.*) *Fr.*
T. poculatum *White*
Pluteus longistriatus *Pk.*

S. H. Burnham, Vaughns

Asarum reflexum *Bick.*
Aster curvescens *Burgess*
Oxalis brittonae *Small*
Paspalum muhlenbergii *Nash*
Perilla frutescens (*L.*) *Britton*
Xanthium commune *Britton*

G. D. Cornell, Cooper's Plains

Hydrangea arborescens *L.*
Lilium superbum *L.*

J. Dearness, London Ont.

Diaporthe microstroma *E. & E.*
D. velata *Pers.*
Dichomera prunicola *E. & D.*
Hemitrichia vesparium (*Batsch*)
Lycogala exiguum *Morg.*
Trichia incarnata *Pers.*

W. G. Farlow, Cambridge Mass.

Nardia obovata *Nees*

F. E. Fenno, Nichols

Carex flava *L.*
Salix myrtilloides *L.*
Verbena angustifolia *Mx.*
Woodwardia virginica (*L.*) *Sm.*

A. O. Garratt, Salt Lake City Utah

Puccinia calochorti *Pk.*
Puccinia plumbaria *Pk.*

C. Gramesly, Charleston Ill.

Agaricus abruptus *Pk.*

N. M. Glatfelter, St Louis Mo.

Flammula eccentrica *Pk.*
Galera capillaripes *Pk.*
Hypholoma ornellum *Pk*
Lactarius subvelutinus *Pk*
Pholiota detersibilis *Pk.*
Pholiota autumnalis *Pk.*
Russula luteobasis *Pk.*
R. pusilla *Pk.*
Tricholoma viscosum *Pk.*

L. W. Hahn, Silver Creek

Euonymus obovatus *Nutt.*

C. C. Hanmer, East Hartford Ct.

Geoglossum farlowi *Cke.*

W. Herriot, Galt Ont.

Bromus cil. laeviglumis *Scrib.*

Panicum lanuginosum *Ell.*

R. B. Hough, Lowville

Pinus echinata *Mill.*

F. G. Howland, Saratoga

Collybia velutipes *Curt.*

R. B. Mackintosh, Peabody Mass.

Clitocybe cerussata *Fr.*
Deconica bryophila *Pk.*
Pleurotus petaloides (*Bull.*) *Fr.*
Tricholoma grammopodium (*Bull.*) *Fr.*

C. McIlvaine, Cambridge Md.

Hypomyces viridis (*A. & S.*) *Karst.*
Panaeolus epimyces *Pk.*
Phytophthora phaseoli *Thax.*

W. S. Moffatt, Chicago Ill.

Clitocybe piceina *Pk.*

Pholiota comosa *Fr.*

G. E. Morris, Waltham Mass.

Boletinus grisellus *Pk.*
Boletus parasiticus *Bull.*
Lentinus tigrinus *Fr.*
Otidea onotica (*Pers.*) *Fckl.*

R. S. Phifer, Danville Va.

Boletus morgani *Pk.*
B. caespitosus *Pk.*
Polyporus curtisii *Berk.*

E. B. Sterling, Trenton N. J.

Geaster minimus *Schw.*
G. pectinatus *Pers.*
G. giovanellae *Bres.*
Catastoma subterraneum (*Pk.*) *Morg.*
Agaricus cothurnatus *Pk.*
A. rutilescens *Pk.*
A. solidipes *Pk.*
A. sphaerosporus *Pk.*

R. H. Stevens, Detroit Mich.

Helvella stevensii *Pk.*

F. C. Stewart, Geneva

Haplosporella maclurae *E. & B.*

D. R. Sumstine, Kittanning Pa.

Dictydiaethalium plumbeum (*Schum.*)
Lentinus ursinus *Fr.*
Merulius tremellosus *Schrad.*
Podosphaera oxyacanthae *DC.*
Puccinia cryptotaeniae *Pk.*
Stropharia squam. aurantiaca *Cke.*
Urnula craterium (*Schw.*) *Fr.*

W. E. Warner, Washington D. C.

Amanita radicata *Pk.*
A. musc. formosa (*G. & R.*)
Pluteus cervinus (*Schaeff.*) *Fr.*
Polyporus cuticularis *Fr.*

B. C. Williams, Newark

Inocybe serotina *Pk.*

J. R. Cushier, New York City
Panaeolus solidipes *Pk.*

A. Knechtel, Albany
Picea canadensis (*Mill.*) *B. S. P.* (Trunk section)

L. H. Watson, Chicago Ill.
Clitocybe piceina *Pk.*

C

SPECIES NOT BEFORE REPORTED

Asarum reflexum Bick.

Ravines. Williams Bridge, Westchester co. May. S. H. Burnham.

Aster curvescens Burgess.

Woodlawn cemetery, Westchester co. July. S. H. Burnham.

Crataegus ascendens Sarg.

Clayey soil in pastures and borders of woods. North Greenbush and Rensselaer. May, July and September.

Crataegus brainerdi Sarg.

Rocky places in pastures. Sandlake. May and September.

Crataegus conjuncta Sarg.

Clayey and sandy soil. North Greenbush and in various places north and northeast of Albany. May, September and October.

Crataegus contigua Sarg.

Shaly soil. Lansingburg. May and September.

Crataegus delucida Sarg.

Clayey hillsides north of Albany. May and September.

Crataegus dilatata Sarg.

Clayey soil, roadsides and pastures. Thompsons Lake, Albany co. and Gansevoort, Saratoga co. June, July and September.

Crataegus dissona Sarg.

Clayey soil. Near Albany, Rensselaer, Lansingburg, Copake and Thompsons Lake. May, July and September.

Crataegus egglestoni Sarg.

Rocky places. Crown Point. May, July and September.

Crataegus exclusa Sarg.

Clayey soil. Crown Point. May, July and September.

Crataegus flabellata (Spach) Rydb.

Rocky places near the lake shore. Crown Point. May and September. This is a beautiful species well marked by its deeply and sharply lobed shining leaves, its 20 stamens with pink anthers and its globose fruit.

Crataegus gravesii Sarg.

Clayey soil. Albany, North Greenbush and Westport. May, June, September and October.

Crataegus irrasa Sarg.

Clayey soil. North Greenbush. May, June and September.

Crataegus intricata Lange

Hillsides near Albany and north of Lansingburg. May, June and September.

Crataegus lobulata Sarg.

Clayey soil. Crown Point. May and September.

Crataegus macracantha Lodd.

Clayey and sandy soil. North Greenbush, Thompsons Lake, Fort Ann and North Elba. May, June and September. This was formerly reported as a variety of Crataegus coccinea, but is now considered a distinct species. The name indicates that it has long spines, but they are not always conspicuously long. Its stamens vary in number from 7 to 10 and its anthers are whitish or pale yellow.

Crataegus matura Sarg.

Rocky or bushy pastures. Gansevoort, Saratoga co. and Lake Pleasant, Hamilton co. June, August and September.

Crataegus peckii Sarg.

Shaly soil. North of Lansingburg. May and October.

Crataegus praecoqua Sarg.

Clayey soil. Crown Point. May and September. First discovered here by W. W. Eggleston.

Crataegus succulenta Link

Clayey soil. Albany, Albia, Rensselaer co. and Central Bridge, Schoharie co. May, July and September.

In view of the growing interest in the study of our species of Crataegus it has been thought best to give descriptions of such

of our species as are not described in any of our manuals. These descriptions and remarks on the genus will be found in another part of the report.

Daphne mezereum L.

Gravesville, Herkimer co. Mrs M. S. DeCoster. The spurge laurel or mezereon is an introduced shrub. It is sometimes cultivated but escapes from cultivation and grows wild.

Entoloma griseum n. sp.

Pileus fleshy, firm, broadly campanulate or convex, obtuse or slightly umbonate, glabrous, often irregular, hygrophanous, grayish brown when moist, paler when dry, flesh whitish, odor and taste farinaceous; lamellae adnexed, emarginate, with a decurrent tooth, about 2 lines broad, pale pink; stem equal or slightly tapering upward, silky fibrillose, pruinose or mealy at the top, stuffed or hollow, grayish white; spores angular, nearly as broad as long, .0003 of an inch long.

Pileus 1-3 inches broad; stem 1-2 inches long, 3-5 lines thick. Under spruce and balsam fir trees. Lake Pleasant. August.

It is closely related to E. g r a y a n u m from which it may be separated by its darker color, more narrow gills and different place of growth.

Euonymus obovatus Nutt.

Woods. Silver creek, Chautauqua co. L. W. Hahn.

This decumbent or trailing shrub was reported by Dr Torrey to belong to our flora, but he considered it a mere variety of E u o n y m u s a m e r i c a n u s . It is now regarded as a distinct species differing from the strawberry bush in its smaller flowers, obtuse and more finely crenulate leaves, earlier time of flowering and decumbent or trailing mode of growth.

Geoglossum farlowi Cke.

Fishers island, Suffolk co. September. C. C. Hanmer. This fungus is much like G . h i r s u t u m in external appearance, but its spores have but three septa.

Haplosporella maclurae E. & B.

Dead stems of wistaria. Geneva. April. F. C. Stewart.

Hebeloma socialis n. sp.

Pileus fleshy but thin, convex, becoming plane or nearly so, glabrous, slightly viscid when moist, dingy yellowish white, flesh concolorous, taste nauseous; lamellae thin, close, slightly rounded behind, adnexed, at first whitish, then yellowish, finally brownish ferruginous; stem short, fibrous, floccose fibrillose, hollow with a small cavity, white; spores brownish ferruginous, elliptic, .00025-.0003 of an inch long, .00016-.0002 broad.

Pileus 8-15 lines broad; stem 12-18 lines long, 1.5-3 lines thick. Closely gregarious or subcespitose. Among short grass in pastures and golf ground. Menands. October. Distinguished from our other white or whitish species by its peculiar habitat and mode of growth and by its small spores.

Hypomyces boletinus n. sp.

Perithecia minute, conic or subglobose, closely nestling in a pallid or whitish subiculum, pale red or orange; asci slender, linear, .004-.005 of an inch long, scarcely .0003 broad; spores subfusiform, continuous, acuminate or apiculate at one end, .0008-.001 of an inch long, .00025 broad.

On some unrecognized decaying boletus, associated with Sepedonium chrysospermum. It differs from H. polyporinus, to which it is most closely related, in its more highly colored perithecia and longer spores, and from H. boleticola in the color of the subiculum.

Hydnum balsameum n. sp.

Resupinate with a very thin whitish or pallid subiculum; aculei mere conic brown points closely scattered but not crowded, giving to the surface a brown color.

Decorticated wood of balsam fir. North Elba. September. It sometimes grows on the bark also.

Hydnum macrescens Banker in lit.

Resupinate, effused, the thin subiculum less than 1 mm thick, ochraceous, subfarinaceous, specially in the thinner portions and on the woody substratum, rimose, the margin indeterminate; mycelium white, arachnoid, spreading in places beyond the subic-

ulum; teeth scattered, minute, .1-.25 mm long, .05-.1 mm broad, obtuse, often forked, colored like the subiculum but paler or white at the subciliate tips. Growing chiefly on the hymenial surface of Stereum frustulosum but often spreading over the substratum of decayed wood. Mt McGregor, Saratoga co. July.

The growth is most vigorous on the surface of the Stereum, where the subiculum becomes thickest and the teeth most numerous. On the woody substratum the growth is poor, the subiculum is thin and often the mycelium spreads naked over the surface of the wood. This has suggested the specific name. The thinning out of the subiculum indicates that the fungus finds its proper nourishment in the tissues of the Stereum and it is doubtful if it will be found dissociated from that plant. It appears to be related to H. sulphurellum Pk. but differs from it in color, in the indeterminate margin and in the ciliate teeth.

Inocybe castanea n. sp.

PLATE O, FIG. 1-8

Pileus conic or convex, umbonate, rimose fibrillose, the margin incurved, dark chestnut brown; lamellae thin, narrow, close, adnate, whitish or pallid when young, ferruginous brown when mature; stem equal, hollow, glabrous, slightly pruinose or mealy at the top; paler than the pileus; often whitened at the base by mycelioid tomentum; spores angular, nearly or quite as broad as long, .00025-.0003 of an inch long and broad; cystidia subfusiform, .002-.0024 of an inch long.

Pileus 5-8 lines broad; stem 10-18 lines long, about 1 line thick. Mossy ground under spruce and balsam fir trees. Lake Pleasant. August.

This species is very closely related to I. umboninota from which it may be separated by its smaller size, the chestnut tint of the cap, its hollow stem and smaller merely angular spores. Cystidia are more abundant. The species belongs to section Rimosi.

Inocybe excoriata n. sp.

PLATE O, FIG. 14-19

Pileus fleshy, broadly conic, soon broadly convex, umbonate, fibrillose or fibrillose squamulose, somewhat silky or tomentose

on the margin, grayish brown or pale vandyke brown, the cuticular surface often cracking and separating in places but remaining on the disk and sometimes on the margin, flesh white; lamellae narrow, close, emarginate, adnexed, decurrent with a tooth, crenulate on the edge, white becoming brownish gray; stem equal, solid, silky fibrillose, white or whitish without and within; spores yellowish brown (raw umber), elliptic, even, .0003-.0004 of an inch long, .0002-.00024 broad; cystidia flask shape, .002-.0024 of an inch long.

Pileus 1-2 inches broad; stem 1-2 inches long, 2-3 lines thick. Among fallen leaves in woods. Lake Pleasant. August.

The surface of the pileus cracks longitudinally and therefore the species belongs to the section Rimosi. The peeling and disappearance of parts of the cuticle suggest the specific name. A slight whitish webby veil is present in the young plant.

Inocybe fallax n. sp.

PLATE O, FIG. 20-24

Pileus thin, campanulate or convex, umbonate, obscurely fibrillose, sometimes minutely and obscurely squamulose, whitish or buff white, somewhat shining, the margin decurved or incurved, often splitting; lamellae thin, close, rounded behind, slightly adnexed, pallid when young, becoming rusty brownish when old; stem long, equal, hollow, flexuous, minutely pruinose, mealy, whitish; spores angular, slightly nodulose, .0003-.0004 of an inch long, .00024-.0003 broad; cystidia .0016-.002 of an inch long, .0006-.0007 broad, oblong elliptic.

Pileus 1-2 inches broad; stem 2-3 inches long, 2-4 lines thick. Among fallen leaves in woods. Lake Pleasant. August.

This species might easily be taken for a large form of I. g e o p h y l l a, but an examination of its spores shows it to be distinct. Its cystidia are short and broad.

Inocybe serotina n. sp.

Pileus fleshy, firm, varying from campanulate to nearly plane, fibrillose toward the margin, white, sometimes tinged with yellow or brownish yellow, flesh white; lamellae close, rounded behind, nearly free, subventricose in fully expanded specimens, whitish

becoming brownish cinnamon; stem nearly equal, bulbous or narrowed at the base, long or short, solid, fibrous, white; spores oblong, even, .0005-.0006 of an inch long, .00024-.0003 broad.

Pileus 1-2.5 inches broad; stem 1-2 inches long, 3-6 lines thick. Sandy shores of Sodus bay and Lake Ontario. October. E. B. Burbank. Communicated by B. C. Williams.

Related to I. sambucina from which it differs in the fibrillose margin of the cap, in the darker color of the mature lamellae, in the larger spores and in its habitat. From Hebeloma colvini, which also grows in sandy soil, it differs in its whitish color, longer spores and solid stem. Its mycelium binds together a mass of sand which forms a somewhat bulbous base to the stem. Mr Burbank says that it occurred in great abundance in October and that it is edible.

Inocybe squamosodisca n. sp.

PLATE 0, FIG. 10-13

Pileus fleshy, firm, convex, dry, fibrillose on the margin, rimose squamose in the center, ochraceous buff, flesh whitish or yellowish white; lamellae rather broad, moderately close, adnate, pale ochraceous, becoming darker with age; stem short, firm, equal, solid, fibrillose, colored like the pileus; spores elliptic, even, .0003-.0004 of an inch long, .0002-.00024 broad.

Pileus 1-2 inches broad; stem about 1 inch long, 2-3 lines thick. Gregarious. Under pine trees. Shore of Sacandaga lake. August.

The scales of the pileus are flat and spotlike and are formed by the cracking of the cuticle.

Isaria brachiata (Batsch) Schum.

On decaying Tremellodon gelatinosum. Van Etten. October. W. C. Barbour.

Iva xanthiifolia (Fres.) Nutt.

Waste places in the northern part of Albany. August. Introduced from the west but growing freely here.

Lactarius subvelutinus n. sp.

Pileus fleshy, firm, convex or nearly plane, subumbilicate, dry, minutely velvety or pruinose velvety, sometimes rugose, golden tawny, flesh white, milk white, taste mild; lamellae narrow,

close, adnate or slightly decurrent, yellowish or cream color, becoming darker with age; stem short, equal, solid, colored like or a little paler than the pileus; spores white, globose, nearly smooth, .0003 of an inch broad.

Pileus 1-2 inches broad; stem .5-1 inch long, 2-4 lines thick. Woods and open places. Meadowdale and Cemetery, Albany co. August.

Nardia obovata Nees

Rocks. Rainbow falls near Lower Ausable lake, Essex co. September. W. G. Farlow.

Oxalis brittonae Small

Van Cortland park, Westchester co. June. S. H. Burnham.

Perilla frutescens (L.) Britton

Sleepy Hollow near Tarrytown. October. S. H. Burnham.

This is an introduced species.

Phacelia dubia (L.) Small

Shady places on limestone rocks near Jamesville, Onondaga co. October. Mrs L. L. Goodrich.

In our botanies, Pennsylvania is the northeastern limit assigned to the range of this plant. Its discovery near Jamesville by Mrs Goodrich extends its range northward and adds a beautiful little wild flower to our flora. Its usual flowering time is in spring, but these specimens were found in flower the last week in October. The plants grew in patches several feet in diameter. The species is described in Gray's *Manual* under the name Phacelia parviflora Pursh.

Phaeopezia retiderma (Cke.) Sacc.

Ground in shaded places. Sandlake, Rensselaer co.

Podosphaera leucotricha (E. & E.) Salmon

Parasitic on living twigs of appletrees. Clyde, Wayne co. W. L. Devereaux.

This species of mildew is peculiar in its perithecia having two sets of appendages, one apical, the other basal. It is specially injurious to the young branches of trees in the nursery, but it rarely attacks the twigs of old trees, though suckers from the base or roots are said to be more liable to attack.

Puccinia simillima Arthur

Leaves and sheaths of Phragmites phragmites. Near Savannah, Wayne co. September.

Paspalum muhlenbergii Nash

Bedford Park, Westchester co. September. S. H. Burnham.

Paspalum prostratum Nash

Sandy soil. Manor, Suffolk co. August.

Russula densifolia Secr.

Among decaying leaves in woods. Lake Pleasant. August. This species is closely related to R. adusta from which it may be separated by the slight reddening of the flesh where wounded. Our specimens are a peculiar form in which many of the lamellae are forked at the base. They also separate at the inner extremity from the stem and pileus and curl outward revealing the hymenophore beneath. All the specimens found exhibited this character. It indicates a feeble attachment of the hymenium to the hymenophore and is suggestive of a relationship to the genus Paxillus. The white spores, however, show that it is not referable to that genus. It may be called variety paxilloides.

Russula furcata (Pers.) Fr.

Ground in woods. Near Albany. July. An edible species.

Sarcoscypha rhenana *Fckl.*

Capular, stipitate or subsessile, single or cespitose, often irregular, incurved on the margin when young, externally pruinose tomentose, pale yellow; hymenium pale yellow becoming orange tinted with age or in drying, sometimes slightly pruinose; stem short or almost none, when well developed whitened by a short downy tomentum; asci cylindric; spores elliptic, verrucose, .0008-.0009 of an inch long, .0004-.0005 broad, commonly containing one or two shining nuclei.

Cups 4-8 lines broad; stem 2-6 lines long, 2-4 thick. Decaying leaves and other vegetable matter in woods. Lake Pleasant. August. Its relationship is with S. imperialis from which it differs in the character of its spores and in its more highly colored hymenium.

Stereum burtianum n. sp.

PLATE O, FIG. 30-34

Pileus thin, submembranaceous, coriaceous, fibrous, subinfundibuliform, sometimes dimidiate, slightly uneven with radiating fibrous ridges, pallid with a slight cervine or rufescent tint, somewhat shining, the thin margin erect, spreading or decurved, slightly wavy or uneven on the edge and often incised or laciniate; hymenium even or slightly radiately uneven, decurrent, from pale buff to ochraceous buff; stem short, tough, solid, minutely tomentose or pruinose tomentose, subcinereous; spores minute, hyaline, even, globose or subglobose, .00012-.00016 of an inch broad.

Pileus 4-8 lines broad; stem 2-3 lines long, about half a line thick. Bare ground in bushy places. Shokan, Ulster co. September.

Sometimes the pilei of two or more plants growing close together are confluent. When well developed the pileus has a central stem, but sometimes one third or one half is wanting and then the stem is lateral though the pileus is usually erect. In such cases the pileus often appears as if perforate and the upper part of the stem as if hollow. This very distinct species is dedicated to Prof. E. A. Burt who has made a special study of the group of fungi to which it belongs and to whom I am under obligations for aid in the identification of some of the species.

Tricholoma subluteum n. sp.

PLATE O, FIG. 26-29

Pileus broadly campanulate becoming convex, umbonate, obscurely fibrillose, yellow, flesh white; lamellae close, emarginate, adnexed, white; stem equal or slightly tapering upward, solid, fibrillose, yellow, whitish at the pointed base, white within; spores globose, .0002-.00024 of an inch broad.

Pileus 2-4 inches broad; stem 3-4 inches long, 4-8 lines thick. Under coniferous trees. Lake Pleasant. August.

This is a beautiful but apparently a very rare species. It belongs to the second group of section Sericella. It is related to T. chrysenterum and T. chrysenteroides, but may be distinguished from them by its white flesh and lamellae.

Ulmaria rubra Hill.

Balfour place near Aiden Lair, Essex co. July.

The queen of the prairie has been introduced into our State from the West and is found in dooryards and flower gardens where it is cultivated for ornament. It sometimes escapes from cultivation or persists about the sites of old destroyed or abandoned dwellings. It is described in Gray's *Manual* under the name Spiraea lobata.

D

REMARKS AND OBSERVATIONS

Agastache scrophulariaefolia (Willd.) Kuntze

Roadside. Wells, Hamilton co. August. A showy form having purplish bracts and calyx lobes. It is sparingly pubescent and in this respect it approaches A. nepetoides, but it has the thicker spikes and more pointed calyx lobes of A. scrophulariaefolia.

Amanita muscaria formosa (G. & R.) Fr.

Several instances have been reported to me in which this variety of the fly amanita, a poisonous species, has been eaten without harm. In all these instances except one, the mushroom was eaten by those who were at the time ignorant or unsuspicious of its true relationship. In September, Mr A. P. Hitchcock of New Lebanon reported to me a case in which a sheep ventured to try the edible qualities of this mushroom. He says:

While I was gathering a few specimens of boletus in the pastures one evening last week, my cosset buck sheep, which follows me about like a dog, watched my proceedings with close attention for a time. Then, having assured himself of what I was doing he walked to a small group of the fly amanita, which grows luxuriantly in places in my fields, and proceeded to gobble down about a dozen fair sized specimens, eating the caps as greedily as he eats lump sugar from my hand. This was at least three days ago and perhaps more. He is still with us and in no way worse for his indulgence. Does this mean that I have mistaken some other sort for the fly amanita or that what is food for a buck sheep may be poison for a man? The amanita in question had the orange yellow color and the bulbous stem of A. muscaria.

In this as in all other cases of harmless eating of the fly amanita that have been reported to me the variety formosa is indicated.

The caps were either wholly or partly yellow. This is the common form in our State. It has the upper surface of the cap either wholly pale yellow or the center only tinged with red or orange, the margin remaining yellow. The form having the whole upper surface of the cap uniformly bright red or orange red is very rare with us. Yet this is the form commonly figured by European mycologists as Amanita muscaria. The form having the pale yellow cap was described by Gonnermann and Rabenhorst as a distinct species but Fries reduced it to a variety. The instances mentioned above are strong presumptive evidence of its harmless character and may be taken as another point of difference between this plant and the poisonous fly amanita. They strengthen the claims of those who have regarded the plant with the yellow cap as a distinct species. Still these two mushrooms are so closely allied in size, shape and structure that it does not seem prudent to regard them as distinct species and the yellowish capped one as edible, till full trial and investigation has established the fact beyond question.

Aster roscidus variifolius n. var.

Lower stem leaves ovate or oblong ovate, cordate, acuminate, serrate, petiolate, 2-5 inches long, upper stem leaves much smaller, oblong, entire, sessile or with a very short, widely winged petiole, scarcely more than 1 inch long.

Woods along the shore of Lake Ontario north of Mexico. September.

The whole plant is glandular. The three or four upper leaves are abruptly reduced in size.

Aster undulatus L.

A small form, 1.5-2 feet tall, with leaves ovate or subrotund, the lower petiolate, cordate and serrate with broad teeth, occurs near Minerva. It is related to A. undulatus abruptifolius, but is a much smaller plant.

Antennaria neglecta Greene

A dwarf form having the heads densely capitate, the stems of the pistillate plant only 2-4 inches long and of the staminate plant 2 inches or less, occurs at Minerva. It is in flower the first week

in May. In appearance it resembles the western A. campestris Rydb.

Boletus nebulosus Pk.

In State Museum report 51, page 292 a description of this species was published, but it was derived from mature specimens, no examples of the young plant having at that time been seen. Young specimens were found near Lake Pleasant in August. The pileus in them is hemispheric, soon becoming convex and is dark gray becoming brown with age. The tubes are at first closed and pallid or brownish. The stem is sometimes pointed at the base and varied above with pale streaks.

Cantharellus cibarius longipes n. var.

Pileus irregular, lobed or wavy on the margin, often centrally depressed and rimose squamose; lamellae very narrow, crowded, strongly decurrent, frequently anastomosing; stem long, its length equal to or exceeding the diameter of the pileus. In groves of spruce and balsam fir. North Elba. September.

Cortinarius amarus Pk.

A form of this species was found having the stem 2-3 inches long. It grows under spruce and balsam firtrees in North Elba, and is easily recognized by its small, irregular, yellow, viscid pileus and its very bitter flavor.

Dalibarda repens L.

Fine specimens of this pretty little plant were found by the roadside between Minerva and Aiden Lair. These have several short peduncles bearing mature seeds and one or two long ones now, July 24, bearing flowers. The early flowers were evidently clistogamic and very fruitful.

Eriophorum alpinum L.

Along the roadside 2 miles south of Aiden Lair. This little alpine cotton grass is rare in our State and it is interesting to find it maintaining itself along the side of a much used public highway.

Hydnum graveolens subzonatum n. var.

Pileus thin, nearly plane, slightly umbilicate, fibrously radiate striate, zonate with narrow, slightly darker zones, fuscous or grayish brown; aculei whitish.

North Elba and Lake Pleasant. August and September.

This northern variety agrees with the typical form in its mode of growth and in its odor, but differs from it in having the pileus more or less zonate and the spines of the hymenium whiter.

Mnium affine ciliare C. M.

Catskill mountains. Mrs E. G. Britton. A fine variety readily known by the long ciliae or hairs that adorn the margin of the leaf.

Otidea onotica (Pers.) Fckl.

Gregarious or cespitose, growing in damp shaded places on decaying wood and bark. North Elba. September. The base is sometimes whitened by mycelioid filaments. The receptacle is rather tough, but the more tender hymenium is sometimes eaten by insects or their larvae.

Pilosace eximia Pk.

This rare little species is peculiar in having reddish spores. They are .00025 of an inch long, .00016 broad. The color of the spores appears to vary in the different species of this genus. In one they are described as black, in another as purplish brown. In structure the genus agrees with Pluteus of the pink spored series. At present it contains six species, two of which occur in Europe, two in the West Indies, one in Africa and one in the United States.

Puccinia suaveolens (Pers.) Rostr.

This parasitic fungus may be classed among the useful species. It attacks the noxious Canada thistle and assists in keeping it in check by preventing it from producing seeds. But it also attacks another plant, Centaurea cyanus, blue bottle or bachelor's button, which is often cultivated for ornament. In this case also it prevents the development of the flowers and seeds and it may therefore be classed as an injurious fungus, since the flower is the special part for which the plant is cultivated. This plant escaped from cultivation at Menands and was growing like a weed in waste places. On these wild plants the fungus appeared in its uredo stage in May. Later in the season this was followed by the appearance of the teleutospores, the final stage, on the

same plants. The fungus on this host plant is designated form cyani.

Senecio vulgaris L.

The common groundsel is sometimes a troublesome weed in gardens. It begins to flower early in the spring and in wet seasons successive crops spring up and continue the production of seed till cold weather stops their growth. In poor soil it will flower when but two or three inches high, in rich soil it may grow 12 inches high and bear many branches. It grows rapidly and requires but a few days in which to develop from seed to maturity. The soil sometimes becomes so filled with its seeds that as fast as one crop of the plants is destroyed another takes its place.

Sisymbrium altissimum L.

The tall sisymbrium is an introduced plant which has proved to be quite troublesome as a weed in some of the northwestern states. The past summer it appeared in the vicinity of Albany. It was probably brought here either from the north or the west where it has become firmly established. By destroying such troublesome weeds when they first appear much future labor and trouble may be saved.

Solidago canadensis glabrata Porter

Generally the early goldenrod, Solidago juncea, is the first species to blossom in our latitude. It begins to flower in July, The past season, which is notable for its peculiar influence on some plants, seems to have hastened the time of flowering of some species. On July 24, S. juncea, S. canadensis glabrata, S. arguta and S. rugosa were all found growing near each other at North Creek and all were nicely in flower. The glabrate Canada goldenrod is a northern variety and perhaps in its effort to meet the requirements of the short northern seasons it has acquired the habit of blooming early.

Viola cucullata Ait.

In the cold bogs and wet places of the Adirondack region where this blue violet delights to grow, it is not unusual to find it with flowering scapes 6-9 inches long. The flowers much surpass the leaves, often standing twice as high. Such specimens were col-

lected in North Elba. Near Meadowdale a variety occurs in which the petals are variegated with blue and white. This variety has been observed there for several years and appears to be constant in its characters. I have also received specimens of it from other places and it seems strange that it has not been designated by name by some of those botanists who have made a special study of the violets.

Viola rotundifolia Mx.

Fine specimens of the round leaved yellow violet showing the branched peduncles of the clistogamic flowers were found by the roadside 2 miles south of Aiden Lair in July.

Viola selkirkii Pursh.

This pretty, but with us rare, little blue violet has disappeared from its former station in a pine grove near West Albany. It was found last spring in a grove of arbor vitae trees near Minerva, Essex co.

Xylaria grandis Pk.

Van Etten, Chemung co. W. C. Barbour. The specimens on which this species was founded were sent me by G. W. Clinton in 1872. No other specimens of the species had been seen by me till these came from Mr Barbour. They are smaller than the typical form and two of the three specimens sent have the clubs merely mucronate rather than acuminate. The radicating base is wanting in all the specimens, but it appears to have been broken off in collecting. The spores are of the same character as those of the type specimens and I have no doubt of the specific identity of the two fungi. It must be a rare species to escape a second discovery for 30 years.

E

EDIBLE FUNGI

Collybia acervata Fr.

TUFTED COLLYBIA

PLATE 84, FIG. 8-13

Pileus slightly fleshy, convex becoming expanded or nearly plane, glabrous, hygrophanous, pale tan color or incarnate red and sometimes obscurely striatulate on the margin when moist, whitish after the escape of the moisture; lamellae narrow, thin,

close, rounded behind, slightly adnexed or free, whitish; stem equal, hollow, glabrous, usually white tomentose at the base, reddish brown or purplish brown; spores white, elliptic, .00024-.0003 of an inch long, .00016 broad.

The tufted collybia is an inhabitant of the woods of our hilly and mountainous districts. It grows in dense tufts on decaying prostrate trunks of trees and among decaying leaves or on bits of rotten wood half buried by fallen leaves. The caps are rather thin and convex when young, but they expand with age and become broadly convex or nearly plane. When young and moist they are of a pale tan color or brownish red sometimes with a pinkish tint but as the moisture escapes they fade to a whitish color. In the European plant they are said to be umbonate but in the American plant the umbo is rarely present. The gills are quite narrow and close. They are rounded at the inner extremity and either slightly attached to the stem or quite free from it. They are whitish or slightly tinged with pink. The stem is rather slender, rigid but brittle, hollow and smooth except at the base where it is usually clothed with a white tomentum. The color is reddish brown or purplish brown but in the young plant it is often whitish at the top.

The cap is commonly 1-2 inches broad; the stem 2-3 inches long, 1.5-2.5 lines thick. The plants usually grow in clusters and occur during August and September. Though the individual plants are small they grow in such abundance that it is not difficult to obtain a sufficient supply for cooking. They are slightly tough but of good flavor and harmless.

Collybia familia Pk.

FAMILY COLLYBIA

PLATE 84, FIG. 1-7

Pileus thin, fragile, hemispheric or convex, glabrous, hygrophanous, while moist sometimes slightly striatulate on the margin, whitish, grayish or pale smoky brown, sometimes brownish or more highly colored in the center; lamellae thin, narrow, close, rounded at the inner extremity, nearly free, white; stem slender, glabrous, hollow, white or whitish, commonly with

a white villosity at the base; spores globose, .00016-.0002 of an inch in diameter.

The family collybia is similar to the tufted collybia in its mode of growth. It grows in similar localities but is limited in its habitat to decaying wood of coniferous trees. It is smaller and less frequent in occurrence but the tufts or clusters are generally composed of many more individual mushrooms. The caps are thin and fragile but are usually free from insect attack. They are whitish, grayish or brownish sometimes tinged with yellow but they have none of the reddish hues of the tufted collybia. In drying they are apt to become darker than when fresh. The gills are thin, narrow, crowded, white and free from the stem or but slightly attached to it. The stem is smooth, hollow and white or whitish, but like the pileus it becomes darker in drying. Sometimes it appears to be pruinosely pubescent in the fresh plant when viewed with a lens. A wholly white variety very rarely occurs.

The cap is 6-12 lines broad; the stem 2-4 inches long, 1-1.5 lines thick. The time of its appearance is during July and August. Its edible qualities are similar to those of the tufted collybia from which it is easily separated by its smaller size and different color.

Russula mariae Pk.

MARY'S RUSSULA

PLATE 85, FIG. 1-8

Pileus at first nearly hemispheric, soon broadly convex, nearly plane or centrally depressed, pruinose and minutely pulverulent, dark crimson or purplish, sometimes darker in the center than on the margin, rarely striate on the margin when old, flesh white, pinkish under the cuticle, taste mild; lamellae moderately close, adnate, white when young, pale yellow when old; stem equal, solid or slightly spongy in the center, colored like or a little paler than the pileus, usually white at the top and bottom, rarely entirely white; spores pale yellow, globose, .0003 of an inch broad.

This russula is a beautiful and easily recognizable species, though somewhat variable in its colors. The cap is at first

nearly hemispheric, but it soon becomes convex and continues to expand till it is nearly plane or centrally depressed. The margin is even when young and generally remains so in maturity, but sometimes it becomes radiately striate. The surface appears to the naked eye to be pruinose or covered with a bloom, but under a lens it is seen to be dusted with minute particles which, under the action of water, are separable and give reddish stains to any white surface against which the moistened cap may be rubbed. This pruinosity is one of the best distinguishing features of the species. A little boy once went with his mother to look for mushrooms. They came on a group of Mary's russula and the little boy, noticing the bloom on the caps and recognizing in it a resemblance to the bloom of plums, cried out in childish glee "plummies, plummies." He was evidently a close and thoughtful observer and could distinguish at sight this russula from all others. The flesh of the cap is white, but has a pinkish tint immediately beneath the cuticle which is separable on the margin but adnate in the center of the cap. The taste is mild, but occasionally a specimen may be found in which it is slightly and tardily acrid. The color varies from deep crimson to purple. The center is sometimes more highly colored than the margin and in the purple specimens the margin in old plants is apt to fade to a whitish color and to become striate. The gills are white when young but with advancing age they become yellowish. They are nearly all of full length and are therefore wider apart at the margin of the cap than at the stem. A few are forked at the base and the interspaces are veiny. The stem is generally cylindric but occasionally tapering downward or pointed at the base. It appears to the naked eye to be smooth but under a lens it is slightly pulverulent. It is solid or slightly spongy and white within and colored like or a little paler than the cap externally except at the ends where it is white. Forms occasionally occur in which the stem is entirely white.

The cap is 1-3 inches broad; the stem 1-2 inches long, 3-5 lines thick. It grows both in woods and in open grassy places and is found in July and August. It is not as highly flavored as some

other russulas but I have no hesitation in placing it among the edible species.

Russula furcata (Pers.) Fr.

FORKED RUSSULA

PLATE 85, FIG. 9-14

Pileus convex becoming nearly plane, centrally depressed or funnel form, glabrous, even on the margin which is at first incurved, then spreading and acute, the thin adnate pellicle subseparable on the margin, greenish or brownish green, flesh white, taste mild; lamellae thickish, subdistant, often forked, with shorter ones intermixed, adnate or slightly decurrent, white; stem equal or nearly so, solid or spongy in the center, white; spores white, subglobose, .0003-.00035 of an inch long, .00025-.0003 broad.

The forked russula grows in woods and is a variable species. Two distinct European varieties have been described but our specimens do not fully agree with either of them nor with the typical form. The cap varies in color from a pale yellowish green or olive green to a dark brownish green, the center often being darker than the margin. Sometimes purplish hues are intermingled with the green, but these are apt to disappear from the dried specimens. The surface is slightly viscid when moist and sometimes it is rugosely roughened or reticulate in places. The margin, though thin, is not striate. The flesh is white and its taste mild. I have detected no bitter flavor to our form but the European form is said to have it. The gills are rather thick, moderately wide apart, persistently white and attached to the stem by their full width. Many of them are forked, the bifurcations occurring most frequently near the stem and the margin. There are also short gills which do not reach the stem. The interspaces are marked by transverse veins or ridges, but I do not find this character ascribed to the European form. The stem is nearly or quite cylindric, solid or when old somewhat spongy in the center, smooth and white.

The cap is 2-4 inches broad; the stem 1.5-3 inches long, 5-8 lines thick. It may be found in July. In my trial of its edible qualities it seemed more tough than some other russulas, but the

flavor was satisfactory and the species is deemed worthy of a place in our edible list even though the European plant has been published by some writers as poisonous.

Pholiota vermiflua Pk.

WORMY PHOLIOTA

PLATE 86, FIG. 13–20

Pileus convex or nearly plane, glabrous or occasionally floccose squamose on the margin, sometimes areolate rimose in the center, white, occasionally slightly tinged with yellow; lamellae close, adnexed, white becoming ferruginous brown, generally minutely eroded on the edge; stem hollow, equal, striated at the top, white, the annulus more or less floccose on the lower surface, lacerated or evanescent, white; spores elliptic, ferruginous brown, .0005 of an inch long, .0003 broad.

The wormy pholiota is closely related to the early pholiota, from which it may be separated by its larger size, thicker flesh, stouter stem, whiter color and the tendency of its pileus to crack into areas in the center. It is very liable to be infested by the larvae of insects and this is suggestive of the specific name.

The cap in the young plant is very convex or hemispheric but with advancing age it expands and becomes nearly or quite plane. The central part of the surface often cracks into areas giving it a scaly appearance. It also sometimes splits on the margin. It is smooth or occasionally slightly floccose scaly on the margin from the remains of the veil. The flesh is white. The gills are at first white but they become rusty brown with age. They are closely placed, excavated at the stem end and often whitish and minutely eroded on the edge. The stem is nearly cylindric, hollow, smooth, white and often striated at the top. Its collar is also white, somewhat floccose on the lower surface, often slight, lacerated and disappearing in mature plants, leaving the stem without a collar.

The cap is 2-4 inches broad; the stem 2-3 inches long, 3-5 lines thick. The plants are usually found in rich soil in grain fields, waste places and about manure piles and occur from June to August. When sound and well cooked the flavor is excellent and the mushroom is a fine addition to our table delicacies.

Psilocybe foenisecii (Pers.) Fr.

HAYMAKERS PSILOCYBE. MOWERS MUSHROOM

PLATE 86, FIG. 1–11

Pileus thin, campanulate or convex, obtuse, glabrous, hygrophanous, brown or reddish brown when moist, paler when dry; gills broad, adnate, minutely crenulate on the edge, ventricose, subdistant, brown; stem slender, nearly straight, hollow, rigid, fragile, glabrous, pruinose at the top, pallid or rufescent; spores brown, subelliptic, .0005-.0006 of an inch long, .00025-.0003 broad.

The haymakers psilocybe is a small but very regular, neat and attractive species which gets its name from its usual place of growth. This is in grassy places, on lawns or in meadows, where it is often destroyed by the mower while cutting grass. Its cap is conic or somewhat bell shaped when young, but it becomes more convex with age. When fresh and moist it is dark brown or reddish brown and is usually marked on the margin by darker parallel radiating lines. By the escape of the surplus moisture these lines disappear and the cap becomes paler, assuming a grayish or ashy gray color. The moisture generally escapes first from the center of the cap though the flesh is thicker there than on the margin. This gives a somewhat variegated appearance to the cap while the moisture is escaping, but after the evaporation is completed the color is nearly uniform. Sometimes the center of the cap has a reddish or tan colored hue, in which case this color is generally retained for a time after the escape of the moisture. The cap is generally brown in completely dried and shriveled specimens. The gills are rather broad, not crowded, somewhat narrowed behind and attached to the stem. They are pale brown when young, blackish brown when old. The stem is slender, usually long and nearly straight, hollow, easily broken and paler than the moist cap. It is sometimes tinged with red. The spores in our plant slightly exceed the dimensions given to the spores of the European plant.

The cap is 6-12 lines broad; the stem 2-3 inches long, about 1 line thick. This mushroom grows gregariously in rich grassy places, generally appearing in May and June. Sometimes it appears in great numbers and in successive crops, otherwise it would

be unimportant as an edible mushroom on account of its small size. It has been very abundant in the capitol lawn the last two seasons. It has not a very high flavor but it is harmless and relishable when fried in butter and may therefore be classed as an edible species, though some authors say that there are no edible species of Psilocybe. When uncooked its taste is strong and disagreeable.

Bovista pila B. & C.
ROUND BOVISTA

PLATE 84, FIG. 14-18

Peridium globose or subglobose, 1-3 inches in diameter, the outer coat very thin, at first smooth, white or whitish, soon breaking up into minute scurfy scales or becoming minutely rimose squamulose, finally disappearing and revealing the rather firm papery but persistent, tough, glossy brown inner coat; capillitium dense, persistent, brown; spores even, globose, .00016-.0002 of an inch broad.

The round bovista takes its specific name from its resemblance to a ball. It is quite globose and about 2 inches in diameter when well developed, but sometimes it is more or less irregular. When young it is white or whitish externally and pure white within. It is edible only while in this condition. As soon as the interior begins to change color it is no longer fit to eat and should be discarded. As it advances in age the surface or outer coat shrivels and breaks up into minute scales or scurf and after a time disappears. The inner coat is then smooth and tough like parchment. In maturity it is brown, purplish brown, seal brown or dingy coppery brown, sometimes shining and sometimes showing obscure patches of the exceedingly thin dried and brownish outer coat still adhering to it. It ruptures irregularly. The interior is then seen to be a dense towy and more or less dusty mass similar to the interior of a fully matured puffball. In this condition it often persists through the winter and may be found in fairly good condition for specimens after its hibernation. It grows either in woods, pastures or meadows and in suitable weather may be found from July to September.

F

NEW YORK SPECIES OF CRATAEGUS

The number of published species of Crataegus found in the United States and Canada has increased surprisingly within the last five years. In the edition of Gray's *Manual* issued in 1890, 10 species and three varieties are recognized as belonging to the territory covered by its flora. In the *Illustrated Flora* of Britton and Brown, the second volume of which contains the description of the species of this genus and which was issued in 1897, 15 species and three varieties are recognized, but the territory covered is somewhat larger than that of the *Manual*. Britton's *Manual* issued in 1901 increases the number to 31 species and retains but one variety. In the *Silva of North America*, volume 4, published in 1892, 14 species are described, but in volume 13, which appeared in 1902, the number of species is increased to 84 and the statement is made that this does not include some imperfectly known arboreous species nor the merely shrubby species. In the *Flora of the Southern States* by J. K. Small, issued in 1903, 185 species are described. Varieties are not recognized. In an article devoted to the species of Crataegus found in Rochester and its vicinity and published in the *Proceedings of the Rochester Academy of Science*, volume 4, 1903, C. S. Sargent has described 28 new species and recorded the occurrence of 13 others exclusive of two introduced species which occasionally escape from cultivation. This makes 41 species for the limited area of Rochester and its vicinity, a number greater than that given in Britton's *Manual* for the entire area covered by it two years ago. From these data the inference is scarcely avoidable that many of the recently described species must resemble each other closely and must be founded on slight variations of specific characters. If this inference is well founded, the conclusion is evident that such closely allied species can not be recognized without a thorough knowledge of their distinguishing characters and this knowledge can scarcely be obtained without careful study and close observation. To properly represent such species in the

herbarium, a set of good and well prepared specimens taken in the various stages of development from flowering time till the ripening and fall of the fruit, is required.

The genus Crataegus, as represented by our species, includes shrubs and trees which may be roughly but easily separated from species of other genera of the same family by the long spines or thorns with which their trunks and branches are armed. The common and local names applied to these plants are thorn, thorn apple, thorn bush, thorn tree, haw and hawthorn. They are nearly all suggested by this very prominent character of these plants. Some species are small shrubs, only 2 or 3 feet high with a basal stem diameter of scarcely 1 inch, others are trees 30 feet or more high with a basal diameter of the trunk of 1 foot or more. There is no well marked line of distinction between those which are classed as trees and those which should be called shrubs. They insensibly run together. The same species may be a shrub in one place and a tree in another.

The branches of many species are widely spreading giving a broad rounded head to the tree similar to that of an appletree. Often the lower branches spread horizontally and the upper diverge at a small angle giving a more conic outline to the top. The punctate thorn usually has most of its branches horizontally spreading. This gives it a broad, flattened or depressed head and makes the species easily recognizable at a distance. The shrubby species branch from the base and when several clumps grow near each other they form almost impenetrable thickets. The young shoots of the branches are at first green but with advancing age the upper surface gradually assumes a reddish brown or other color which later encircles the whole shoot. During the second or the second and third years the color becomes, in most species, some shade of gray or ashy gray.

The spines that grow from the trunk and branches are modified or peculiarly developed branches. They are themselves sometimes branched and generally they agree in color with the branch to which they are attached. They usually have a bud at one side of the base and sometimes one on both sides. These buds develop

into a leaf, a branch or a cluster of flowers the next year. In breaking a spine from its branch the leaf, branchlet or flower cluster is likely to be torn away with it unless care is taken to avoid it. The young spine is often adorned with one or more narrow foliaceous bracts which are quickly deciduous. The spines of the hawthorn are sometimes elongated and leaf bearing. They then appear like a short leafy branch terminating in a sharp leafless point.

The leaves are alternate and simple but generally more or less distinctly lobed and serrated on the margin. Those of young and vigorous shoots often differ from others on the same tree in size, shape and lobing. The teeth of the margin are nearly always tipped with glands which may vary in color in different species. The teeth themselves vary according to the species. They may be short or long, narrow or broad, blunt or sharp pointed, straight or incurved. The surface of the leaf blades may be smooth, pubescent or scabrous. In many species the upper surface of the young leaves may be coated with deciduous hairs which soon disappear leaving the surface of the mature leaves glabrous. The lower surface is generally paler than the upper. In some species the young unfolding leaves are tinged with brownish red or bronze red but they become green with advancing age. The leaves are normally petiolate and stipulate but the stipules soon disappear and in some species the petioles are short and so widely margined by the decurrent leaf blades that the leaves appear to be sessile. The petioles are often furnished with a few glands which may be either sessile or stalked. They are often more highly colored when old than when young, and are apt to be shorter on vigorous shoots than on fruiting or lateral branches. In general outline the leaf blades may vary in different species from oblanceolate or spatulate to obovate, ovate, oblong ovate, elliptic, oval or orbicular.

The buds are compact and globular with very broad blunt scales. In some species they are covered with a varnish which becomes sticky in warm weather. When they burst in spring the inner scales enlarge rapidly, become elongated and assume pink

reddish or yellowish hues. They are glandular on the margin and in some species on the surface also. These scales are generally soon deciduous.

The flowers in our species are, with one exception, Crataegus uniflora, produced in clusters at the ends of short leafy terminal or lateral branches. In the earliest species to flower in our latitude they appear about the end of the first week in May, in the latest, the first week in June, making the flowering season about one month long. In nearly all cases the flowers open and their petals fall before the leaves are fully developed. The flower stems or peduncles may be long or short, simple or branched, glabrous or hairy, according to the species. The branching peduncles frequently support three flowers each, the central flower opening a little earlier than the two lateral. The calyx is superior and five lobed, the petals are five, the stamens vary from 5 to 20 and the pistils from 1 to 5. The stamens are normally 5, 10, 15 or 20 in any given species, but by the suppression of some or the union of two adjacent filaments such definite numbers are not always found. Nevertheless the number of the stamens is now utilized as a specific character. The color of the anthers may be pale yellow or whitish, pink or rosy red, purplish red or violaceous, and though these colors are very fleeting they are recognized as having, in many cases, specific value. The calyx lobes are generally tipped with a single gland, their margins may be entire or furnished with sessile or stalked glands. They are erect in bud but spreading or reflexed in anthesis and in some species they later become again erect or incurved. In many species they also become red on the inner basal surface as they advance in age. They are sometimes deciduous from the ripe fruit, specially in species belonging to the section Tomentosae. The petals are nearly always white in our species. In one or two they show a tendency to become rosy tinted when they begin to wither. They are quickly deciduous. They are sometimes eroded or wavy on the edge, and are generally furnished with a short claw at the base.

The time of ripening of the fruit extends from the middle of August to the middle of October. The number of fruits in any

cluster is generally less than the number of its flowers because some flowers fail to produce fruit. The fruit may be globose, oval, oblong, ovate or pyriform. It is not invariably of the same size and shape on the same tree but it is now thought to furnish characters of specific value. When the flower stem is short and stout the ripe fruit is likely to be erect. If the flower stem is long and slender the ripe fruit is likely to droop on its stem. In some species the hairiness of the calyx tube of the flower persists and the fruit is hairy, in others it disappears and the fruit is smooth. In some the fruit falls when it is ripe or soon after, in others it hangs on the branches after the leaves have fallen, persisting sometimes till winter or in rare cases and partially till the following spring. In most species the color of the ripe fruit is some shade of red, either orange red, scarlet, vermilion or crimson. In some it is yellow, greenish yellow, or these colors varied with a red cheek. In some species the fruit has a distinct pruinosity or bloom, in others an indistinct or scarcely noticeable bloom is present. Such fruits have a dull or opaque color but a little rubbing of the surface brings out a shining color. The cuticle in some species may be stripped from the fully ripe fruit as from a very ripe peach or pear. The flesh or pulp in some is dry and mealy, in others juicy and soft. It may be whitish, greenish yellow, orange or red. In many species the fruit has an agreeable flavor and is sweet or slightly acid and edible. In some cases it has been utilized in making jelly. In size it varies much, being but three or four lines in diameter in some and nearly an inch in others. In most of our species it is from five to seven lines in diameter. The number of nutlets of the fruit generally equals the number of styles in the flower. In the section Tomentosae the nutlets differ from those of the other sections in having the inner faces excavated. Thorn bushes appear to have in some cases their "off years" like apple-trees. A bush may be loaded with fruit one year and the next have none. Sometimes the fruit fails because of late frosts. This happened about Lake Placid the past season. A severe frost the last week in May killed the stamens and pistils even in the unopened flower buds, and though the petals were apparently

unharmed and the flowers appeared as usual at a distance, the essential organs having been killed, no fruit developed.

Cattle sometimes browse on the twigs of thorn bushes. In such cases the injured branches put forth many new shoots which are short and dense and form an almost impenetrable surface growth. If the bush is low enough to be browsed from top to bottom it gradually assumes a conic shape. If it is so tall that cattle can not reach the ends of the upper branches these continue their normal growth and the lower part of the bush assumes a conic shape and the dense ramification. The whole bush then appears somewhat like two cones with their vertices united, the lower with its vertex pointing upward, the upper with its vertex pointing downward as in an hourglass. This behavior of thorn bushes under the pruning given them by browsing cattle indicates their suitability for hedges.

Herbarium specimens of species of this genus should be collected at three different times. The first collection should be made when the plant is in flower. This collection will show the characters of the flowers, of the young shoots and of the young and unfolding leaves. The second should be made when the leaves have become fully developed. This will show the character of the mature leaves and of the young fruit. The leaves at this time are in much better condition than late in the season when the fruit is ripe. At this time it is also well to collect specimens of the young vigorous shoots, since the leaves on these are often larger and differ more or less in shape from those on older and less vigorous lateral or fertile branches. The third collection should be made when the fruit is ripe. Its object should be to get this in as good condition as possible. Insect larvae and parasitic fungi often injure and deform the fruit and it is well to select as far as possible such specimens as are most free from these pests. Sometimes nearly every fruit on a shrub or tree is found to be injured by them. In some species the fruit ripens very late. In such cases the leaves are ready to fall or have already partly fallen when the fruit is ripe. Specimens bearing ripe fruit should not be severely pressed lest the fruit be crushed. It is well to dry

some of the fruit without pressing. It is important that the three collections be made from the same tree or shrub in order to avoid the danger of confusing two or more closely related species. Sometimes two or more species grow together in one clump and in such cases special care is necessary lest the intermingled branches lead to inextricable confusion of species. To guard against any slip of memory it is well to mark the trunk of every tree or shrub from which specimens are taken, giving to each a number corresponding to a number attached to the specimens taken from it. With a pocket knife shave the rough bark from a small place on one side of the trunk and inscribe the number on this smooth place. It is well in every case to select the same side of the trunk, for example, the north side. Then no time need be lost in looking for the mark on the other sides.

Because the branches are often coarse and crooked and armed with stout spines, strong pressure is necessary to make good herbarium specimens of them. A screw press is recommended for this purpose. It is also well to loosen the spines by partly splitting them from the branch before putting the samples in press. It is desirable to know the date of each collection. It should therefore be recorded on the ticket.

PRUINOSAE

Fruit medium, red when ripe, pruinose; stamens 10-20; leaves thick or subcoriaceous, commonly bluish green, glabrous when mature.

The pruinosity of the unripe fruit is one of the most available characters by which to recognize the species of this group. The two species here described differ in the number of their stamens and the color of their anthers.

Stamens 20, anthers pale yellow or whitish C. conjuncta
Stamens 10, anthers pale purple or pink C. dissona

Crataegus conjuncta Sarg.

Conjoined thorn

Rhodora, 5:57

Large shrub 8-12 feet tall with widely spreading or ascending branches; leaves ovate, broadly ovate or oval, acute or subacu-

minate at the apex, rounded or slightly cuneate at the base, or on vigorous young shoots larger, truncate or slightly concave cuneate, sometimes broader than long, sharply and unequally serrate, generally with 3-4 short, acute or sharp pointed lobes each side, glabrous, yellowish green, 1-2 inches long and nearly as broad at flowering time, larger, thicker and bluish green above when mature, pale below, petioles slender, 6-15 lines long, usually slightly margined and bearing a few scattered glands; inflorescence glabrous, flowers 5-10 in a cluster, peduncles 6-10 lines long, stamens 20, anthers pale yellow or whitish; fruit globose or depressed globose, somewhat angular, often broader than long, pruinose, erect or drooping, red when ripe, crowned by the incurved, spreading or reflexed, persistent calyx lobes, nutlets 4-5.

Clayey hillsides. Albany and North Greenbush. Flowers from the middle to the end of May, fruit ripens from the first to the middle of October and falls gradually, but sometimes a few fruits hang on the branches all winter. The unfolding leaves are sometimes tinged with brownish red. On young and vigorous shoots the basal pair of leaf lobes are sometimes larger and more widely spreading than the others.

Crataegus dissona Sarg.

Dissonant thorn

Rhodora, 5: 60

Shrub 6-10 feet tall with widely spreading or nearly erect branches; leaves ovate, broadly ovate or rhomboidal, 1-1.5 inches long and nearly as broad at flowering time, thin and yellowish green, acute or sharp pointed at the apex, rounded or broadly cuneate at the base, often tinged with brownish red as they unfold, sharply serrate, with 3-4 slight, acute or sharp pointed lobes each side, glabrous, larger, firmer and bluish green above when mature, paler below, those on vigorous young shoots larger and often truncate at the base, sometimes with the basal pair of lobes enlarged, petioles slender, 6-12 lines long, often slightly enlarged and glandular at the top; flowers on slender glabrous peduncles, 5-8 in a cluster, stamens generally 10, sometimes 7-9, anthers pale purple or pink; fruit globose or depressed globose, pruinose, dark

red or crimson when ripe, the boat-shaped calyx lobes erect or spreading, their tips often deciduous, nutlets 3-5.

Clayey soil. Albany, Copake, Lansingburg and Thompsons Lake. Flowers about the middle of May, fruit ripens from the first to the middle of October. Distinguished from the preceding species by its fewer stamens, pink or purplish anthers and crimson fruit. C. p r u i n o s a differs from both in having 20 stamens with pink anthers. It is a common species about Albany.

INTRICATAE

Fruit medium, yellowish green, orange red or crimson, nutlets 2-5, ridged on the back; corymbs few flowered; leaves thick, subcoriaceous.

Small, rather late flowering shrubs.

Leaves hairy when young	1
Leaves glabrous	C. i n t r i c a t a
1 Anthers pink or pinkish purple	C. p e c k i i
1 Anthers pale yellow	C. m o d e s t a

Crataegus intricata Lange

Intricate thorn

Small shrub 3-8 feet tall with few erect or spreading branches; leaves ovate, broadly ovate, elliptic or oblong elliptic, thin when young, becoming thick and firm with age, acute at the apex, broadly rounded or cuneate at the base, sharply serrate, with 3-4 acute lobes each side, the basal pair, on leaves of young vigorous shoots, often enlarged and distinctly separated from the pair above by deep sharp excavations, glabrous both sides, petiole slender, 4-12 lines long, glandular, slightly margined at the apex; flowers in clusters of 4-8, on short, mostly glabrous peduncles, calyx lobes lanceolate, slightly laciniate serrate, stamens 5-10, anthers pale yellow; fruit erect, subglobose or obovate, pointed at the base, pale red or orange red, nutlets 3-4.

Hillsides and shaly knolls. Albany and Lansingburg. Flowers May 20 to June 1, fruit ripens the last week in September and the first week in October, and soon falls. In falling it often carries the peduncle with it. The spines are slender, straight or nearly so and usually 1-1.5 inches long.

Crataegus modesta Sarg.

Modest thorn

Rhodora, 3:28

Small shrub 2-5 feet tall with irregular short branches; leaves broadly ovate, ovate or oblong ovate, acute at the apex, rounded or cuneate at the base, on young and vigorous shoots often truncate or slightly cordate, serrate, with 3-4 short, broad, acute lobes each side, at flowering time pale green and hairy above, paler and villose below, specially on the midrib and principal veins, when mature thick and firm, dark green and scabrous above, much paler below, 1.5-2 inches long, 1-1.5 broad, petioles 4-12 lines long, glandular, villose, margined at the apex, sometimes on vigorous shoots nearly to the base, often becoming red with age; flowers large, 3-6 in a cluster, on short, villose, mostly simple, peduncles, calyx tube hairy, its lobes slightly hairy, laciniate serrate, reflexed in flower, stamens 10, anthers pale yellow; fruit erect, subglobose, short oblong or pyriform, greenish yellow, orange red or greenish with a red cheek, hairy, nutlets 3.

Clayey and shaly soil. Albany, Rensselaer and Lansingburg. Flowers open the last week in May or the first week in June, fruit ripens late in September. The spines are variable, being slender or stout, straight or curved, and 1-1.5 inches long. On some clumps they are very scarce. The young shoots are more or less villose.

Crataegus peckii Sarg.

Peck's thorn

Rhodora, 5:63

Small shrub 2-6 feet tall, sparingly branched; leaves ovate or broadly ovate, acute at the apex, broadly rounded or concavely cuneate at the base, on young and vigorous shoots often truncate, serrate, divided into 3-4 short, broad, acute or blunt lobes each side, when young, hairy above with appressed whitish hairs, villose below on the midrib and principal veins, when mature, firm, dark green and scabrous above, much paler below, the basal pair of lobes often much enlarged and more distinct, 1.2-2 inches long, nearly as broad or on young vigorous shoots 2-2.5 inches long; flowers large, 3-6 in a cluster, supported on short, villose, simple peduncles,

calyx tube glabrous, its lobes glabrous, laciniate serrate above the middle, stamens 10, anthers pink or pinkish purple, filaments usually white; fruit erect on short slightly villose peduncles, subglobose or short oblong, glabrous, yellowish green when ripe, the calyx lobes mostly deciduous, nutlets 3-4.

Shaly soil. Lansingburg. Flowers the last week in May or the first week in June, fruit ripens early in October and soon falls. The species is closely related to C. m o d e s t a from which it may be separated by its mostly broader leaves, its less hairy inflorescence, pink or pinkish purple anthers and glabrous yellowish green fruit. In this as in the two preceding species the fruit is crowned by a prominent rim which surrounds the calyx cup. The spines are slender, straight or slightly curved and 1.2-2.5 inches long.

MOLLES

Fruit, large, bright red and shining when ripe, often hairy, specially when young; inflorescence villose tomentose; leaves large, broad, softly hairy when young.

The three species here recorded are trees or large shrubs with edible fruit.

Anthers pale yellow or whitish	C. c h a m p l a i n e n s i s
Anthers pink, dark red or purple	1
1 Leaves often convex, calyx lobes hairy on the inner surface	C. p r i n g l e i
1 Leaves plane, calyx lobes hairy on both surfaces	C. e x c l u s a

Crataegus champlainensis Sarg.

Champlain thorn

Rhodora, 3:20. Silva N. A. 13:105, t. 669. N. Y. State Mus. 55th An. Rep't, p.944

Tree or large shrub 10-20 feet tall with widely spreading branches; leaves ovate or broadly ovate, 2-2.5 inches long, 1.5-2 broad at flowering time, larger when mature and on vigorous young shoots, acute at the apex, rounded, truncate, broadly cuneate or slightly cordate at the base, slightly and sharply lobed, coarsely and sharply serrate, when young pubescent above with whitish appressed hairs, pubescent beneath and villose on the

midrib and principal veins, petioles villose and glandular; corymbs commonly few flowered, peduncles and calyx covered with long matted whitish hairs, stamens 10, anthers pale yellow or whitish; fruit oblong obovate or subglobose, often narrowed toward the base, bright red or scarlet, 7-8 lines long, 6-7 broad, nutlets 3-5.

Clayey soil. Port Henry, Crown Point, Fort Ann, Albany. The trees found in the vicinity of Albany differ from those found in the more northern localities in having broader and more rounded leaves, which are sometimes blunt at the apex and often have the margin coarsely wavy, curved or arched as if there was an excessive development of the lateral tissues. The anthers are whitish, not pale yellow as in the type, and the fruit is globose or oval, slightly umbilicate and persistently hairy. It is the first species to blossom about Albany, the flowers appearing from May 10-15, and the fruit ripens and falls early in September. Perhaps these trees belong to a distinct species. The trees in the Fort Ann locality have recently been cut down.

Crataegus pringlei Sarg.

Pringle's thorn.

Rhodora, 3:21. Silva N. A. 13:111, t. 672. N. Y. State Mus. 55th An. Rep't, p.944

Tree or large shrub 12-25 feet tall with widely spreading branches and a broad rounded head; leaves broadly ovate or oval, 1-2 inches long and nearly as broad at flowering time, acute or bluntly pointed at the apex, subtruncate or broadly cuneate at the base, coarsely and sharply serrate, with 3-4 short broad acute lobes each side, pubescent above with short appressed whitish hairs, slightly villose below on the principal veins and midrib, yellowish green above, paler below, often convex by the deflection of the margins, petioles slender, villose; corymbs few flowered, stamens 5-10, anthers pink or pinkish purple, calyx lobes hairy on the inner surface, peduncles short, villose; fruit subglobose, oval or oblong, sometimes slightly narrowed toward the base, generally hairy at the ends, 6-7 lines long and nearly as broad, bright red or scarlet, the calyx lobes spreading or erect.

Clayey soil. Albany and Albia, Rensselaer co.

When in flower the colored anthers easily separate this species from the preceding one, later it may be recognized by the convexity of many of the leaves. The young unfolding leaves are sometimes tinged with red. On vigorous young shoots the leaves often have the basal pair of lobes somewhat enlarged and more distinct than the others.

Crataegus exclusa Sarg.

Excluded thorn

Rhodora, 5:108

Shrub 8-12 feet tall, with widely spreading or ascending branches; leaves similar to those of the preceding species but without the convexity seen in them; flowers similar but the calyx and peduncles more densely villose or tomentose, the calyx lobes more narrow, elongated and hairy on both surfaces; fruit longer and more narrowed toward the base.

Clayey soil. Crown Point and Fort Ann. May, September.

Formerly united with C. p r i n g l e i but separated from it because of its more shrubby habit, more hairy inflorescence and longer fruit.

DILATATAE

Fruit medium or large, subglobose, bright red or scarlet, nutlets 5, ridged on the back; flowers having 20 stamens with rose colored anthers; leaves broad, thin.

Crataegus dilatata Sarg.

Broad leaved thorn

Bot. Gaz. 31:9. Silva N. A. 13:113, t. 673

Tree or large shrub 10-20 feet tall with widely spreading or ascending branches and a broad rounded head; leaves thin, ovate or deltoid ovate, acute at the apex, subtruncate or slightly cordate at the base, with 4-6 short, acute or sharp pointed lobes each side, serrate with unequal sharp pointed teeth, when young minutely pubescent above with short, stiff, appressed, whitish hairs, glabrous below or with a few hairs on the midrib and in the axils of the principal veins, 1.5-3 inches long when mature, nearly as broad, those of vigorous young shoots often with the basal pair

of lobes enlarged and more distinct, petioles slender, 8-18 lines long, slightly villose in the furrow when young, distantly glandular, often reddish toward the base, becoming more red with age, this color sometimes extending to the midrib and principal veins; corymbs 6-10 flowered, peduncles slightly hairy or glabrous, rather long, stamens 20, anthers rose color, calyx tube slightly hairy, its lobes glandular serrate, hairy on the inner surface; fruit globose or oval, 6-8 lines long, 6-7 broad, umbilicate at the base, drooping, bright red, nutlets 4-5, flesh yellowish, well flavored, edible.

Clayey soil. Flowers the last week in May, fruit ripens in September. Thompsons Lake, Albany co. and Gansevoort, Saratoga co. In the latter locality it forms a tree 15-20 feet tall with a trunk diameter of 4-6 inches. On some trees the fruit is globose, on others it is oval. The leaves sometimes become convex as in C. p r i n g l e i. The fruit stems sometimes become red in the upper part.

LOBULATAE

Fruit medium or large, subglobose or oblong, bright red or crimson, nutlets 3-5, distinctly grooved on the back; inflorescence villose or glabrous, stamens 5-15, anthers rose color.

Leaves glabrous beneath, stamens 5-8 C. h o l m e s i a n a

Leaves somewhat hairy beneath, stamens 5-10 C. l o b u l a t a

Crataegus holmesiana Ashe

Holmes thorn

Bot. Gaz. 31: 10. Silva N. A. 13: 119, t. 676

Tree or large shrub 12-25 feet tall with widely spreading or ascending branches; leaves thin, ovate, 1-1.5 inches long, 9-15 lines broad at flowering time, larger and firmer when mature and on vigorous young shoots sometimes with the basal pair of lobes enlarged and more divergent, acute at the apex, broadly rounded or subtruncate at the base, sharply serrate with slender pointed teeth, with 4-5 short acute lobes each side, pubescent above when young with minute appressed whitish hairs, glabrous and slightly paler below, petiole slender, 6-12 lines long, glabrous or with a few hairs and reddish glands; flowers 8-12 in a cluster, 5-8 lines broad, on slender, glabrous or slightly hairy peduncles, calyx glabrous, often tinged with red, the lobes narrow, linear, slightly

glandular, stamens generally 5, sometimes 5-8, anthers purple; fruit subglobose, oblong or obovate, generally narrowed toward the base, bright red or crimson, crowned with the persistent, erect or incurved calyx lobes, nutlets 3-5, flesh yellow.

Clayey soil. Crown Point, Fort Ann, Thompsons Lake and Albany. It flowers from May 15-25, fruit ripens the last week in August and the first week in September. The foliage is commonly yellow green, but it is sometimes dark green.

Crataegus lobulata Sarg.

Lobulate thorn

Rhodora, 3: 22. Silva N. A. 13: 117, t. 675

Tree 15-30 feet tall and a trunk diameter of 6-12 inches; leaves oval, ovate or oblong ovate, at flowering time 1.5-2.5 inches long, 1-2 broad, larger when mature, pubescent with soft appressed whitish hairs above, slightly hairy below, specially on the midrib and principal veins, acute at the apex, rounded or broadly cuneate at the base, sharply serrate, with 4-5 sharp pointed distinct lobes on each side, petioles slender, loosely villose or tomentose, 1-1.5 inches long, becoming reddish or tinged with red in maturity; flowers on slender, villose or tomentose peduncles, the calyx often hairy below and its lobes hairy on the inner surface, stamens usually 10, sometimes 5-10, anthers reddish purple; fruit oblong or subglobose, crowned by the persistent erect or incurved calyx lobes, when ripe, crimson, 6-8 lines long and nearly as broad, nutlets 3-5, flesh yellow, edible.

Clayey soil. Crown Point. It blossoms from the 20th to the end of May and ripens its fruit late in September. Its foliage is yellowish green. It is closely related to the preceding species from which it may be separated by its larger size, the hairiness of the lower surface of the leaves, the more hairy inflorescence, more numerous stamens and its later ripening fruit.

FLABELLATAE

Fruit medium, scarlet or dark red, nutlets 3-5, ridged on the back; stamens 10-20; leaves membranaceous but firm when mature.

Anthers pink or purplish	C. contigua
Anthers pale yellow or whitish	C. irrasa

Crataegus contigua Sarg.

Contiguous thorn

Rhodora, 5: 115

Shrub 6-10 feet tall with spreading or ascending branches; leaves thin, ovate, acute or acuminate at the apex, rounded or broadly cuneate at the base, serrate, with 4-5 distinct, sharp pointed or acuminate lobes each side, at flowering time pale green and clothed above with short appressed whitish hairs, glabrous below, when mature, firm, dark green above, paler below, 1.5-2.5 inches long, 1-2 broad, petioles slender, glabrous, slightly glandular, 6-12 lines long; flowers on slender glabrous peduncles, calyx lobes abruptly narrowed from broad bases, linear, entire or with occasional glands toward the base, stamens 20, anthers purple or pinkish purple; fruit erect or drooping, subglobose or oblong, scarlet, flesh yellow, nutlets 4-5.

Shaly soil near Lansingburg. Flowers open about the middle of May, fruit ripens early in September and soon falls. In our plants the flowers open and the fruit ripens two or three weeks earlier than in the type and the number of stamens ranges from 12-19. In no case have I found a flower with 20 stamens. Nevertheless these variations do not seem to be of sufficient importance to warrant a separation of the plants. The unfolding leaves are tinged with brownish red.

Crataegus irrasa Sarg.

Unpolished thorn

Rhodora, 5: 116

Shrub 6-12 feet tall with numerous slender spreading or ascending branches; leaves thin, ovate or oval, acute at the apex, cuneate at the base, laciniate serrate, when young clothed above with appressed whitish hairs, villose below on the midrib and principal veins, when mature firm, dark green and shining above, paler or yellowish green below, petioles 6-12 lines long, slender, slightly margined at the apex, sparingly glandular; flowers 6-7 lines broad, supported on villose peduncles, calyx tube densely villose, its lobes lanceolate, glandular serrate, villose, reflexed, appressed, stamens 20, anthers pale yellow; fruit subglobose or oblong, dark red, nutlets 4-5.

Clayey soil. North Greenbush. The plants which are here referred to this species diverge so much from a rigid agreement with the description of the species to which we have referred them that it seems best to consider them a variety which may be called var. d i v e r g e n s.

It is characterized as follows:

Leaves oval, serrate with blunt gland-tipped teeth, divided above the middle into 4-5 short narrow strongly pointed lobes each side, petioles villose; corymbs 5-10 flowered, stamens 10-18, anthers whitish; fruit globose or oval.

The young shoots are villose tomentose. The flowers open about the middle of May and the fruit ripens the last week in August or early in September, which is two or three weeks earlier than in the type. Only a single clump of this shrub was found. It approaches C. d e n s i f l o r a in its characters but differs from it in its more numerous stamens and in having the lower surface of the leaves hairy on the midrib and principal veins.

TENUIFOLIAE

Fruit medium, oblong, pyriform or subglobose, crimson or scarlet, nutlets 2-5; inflorescence glabrous or nearly so, stamens 5-20, anthers pink, rose color or dark red; leaves membranaceous, generally pubescent on the upper surface when young, glabrous or scabrous when mature.

The three species here recorded may be tabulated as follows:

	Leaves ovate or oblong ovate	C. a s c e n d e n s
	Leaves ovate, oval or rhomboidal	1
1	Calyx lobes hairy on the inner surface	C. m a t u r a
1	Calyx lobes glabrous on the inner surface	C. d e l u c i d a

Crataegus ascendens Sarg.

Ascending thorn

Rhodora, 5: 141

Shrub 6-10 feet tall with slender ascending branches bearing short, straight or slightly curved spines rarely more than an inch long; leaves thin, ovate or oblong ovate, at flowering time 1.5-2 inches long, 8-15 lines broad, acuminate at the apex, rounded or cuneate at the base, finely and sharply serrate, with 4-5 acuminate

lobes each side, often tinged with brownish red as they unfold and clothed above with minute appressed whitish hairs which soon disappear, dark yellowish green above, paler below, larger, darker green and glabrous when mature, petioles slender, 9-15 lines long, dotted with a few scattered glands and slightly margined at the apex; flowers 6-12 in a cluster, on slender rather long glabrous peduncles, calyx lobes narrow, elongated, entire or with a few minute glands, stamens 5-10, anthers pink or pinkish purple; fruit subglobose obovate or oblong, dark red when ripe, drooping, the calyx lobes subpersistent, spreading or reflexed, nutlets 3-4.

Clayey soil. North Greenbush and Rensselaer. Flowers May 12-20, fruit ripens during September. This species is very distinct and easily recognized by its peculiar oblong ovate leaves with acuminate apex and on fertile branches with cuneate base, making them pointed at each end. On young and vigorous shoots they are usually broadly rounded at the base, and are sometimes 3.5-4 inches long and 2-2.5 inches broad. They are generally more elongated when growing in the borders of woods than when in more open exposed places. The autumn buds are clothed with a varnish which is sticky in warm weather. Though found in several places on the east side of the Hudson river, no example of it has yet been found on the west side of the river.

Crataegus matura Sarg.

Mature thorn

Rhodora, 3: 24

Shrub 5-10 feet tall with many slender ascending or nearly erect branches or occasionally with the lower widely spreading; leaves broadly ovate, oval or rhomboidal, thin, acute or acuminate at the apex, rounded or cuneate at the base, finely and sharply serrate, deeply and sharply divided into 4-6 very distinct sharp pointed or acuminate lobes on each side, yellowish green when young and clothed with short appressed whitish hairs, darker green and glabrous when mature, 2-2.5 inches long, 1.5-2 inches broad, petioles slender, 6-12 lines long, slightly glandular and sometimes wing margined at the apex; flowers 4-8 in a cluster, on short glabrous or slightly hairy peduncles, calyx lobes elongated, narrow, entire or slightly glandular, often red at the tips,

slightly hairy on the inner surface, becoming bright red at the base, stamens usually 10, sometimes 5-9, anthers red or reddish purple; fruit subglobose or oval, about 6 lines long, 5-6 broad, dark red or crimson, nutlets 2-5, flesh yellow, pleasant, edible.

Clayey soil and rocky pastures. Gansevoort, Saratoga co. and Lake Pleasant, Hamilton co. Flowers in May, ripens its fruit the latter part of August.

The early ripening of the fruit is one of the distinguishing characters of the species. In our specimens the fruit is scarcely oblong as in the typical form, and the styles are 2-3, but in other respects the agreement of the characters is good. The bright red color of the inner bases of the calyx lobes in the Gansevoort specimens contrasts beautifully with the pale green color of the immature fruit.

Crataegus delucida Sarg.

Delucid thorn

Rhodora, 5: 139

Shrub 6-10 feet tall with erect or ascending branches; leaves thin, ovate, broadly ovate or oval, acute, sharp pointed or acuminate at the apex, broadly rounded, subtruncate or rarely broadly cuneate at the base, finely serrate, with 4-6 distinct, sharp pointed or acuminate lobes each side, generally tinged with bronze red when they unfold and then covered above with short appressed whitish hairs, at flowering time yellowish green, 1-1.5 inches long, 9-18 lines broad, paler and glabrous below, larger, darker green and glabrous above when mature, petioles slender, 6-12 lines long, usually shorter on young and vigorous shoots with the blades larger and broader, slightly glandular; flowers 6-12 in a cluster, about 6 lines broad, on slender branched glabrous peduncles, calyx lobes narrow, elongated, entire or with few minute glands, often red at the tips, stamens usually 5-8, sometimes 10, anthers red or reddish purple; fruit oblong, bright red or scarlet, drooping, the calyx lobes spreading or reflexed, often deciduous from the ripe fruit, nutlets 3-4, flesh yellow.

Clayey hillsides and rocky pastures. Albany and Sandlake. Flowers about the middle of May, fruit ripens during the last half of September or early in October.

This is one of the prevailing species on the hillsides north of Albany. The flowers have a strong potash odor. It is closely related to C. acutiloba Sarg. with which it was formerly united, but its flowers are smaller and its nutlets more numerous.

COCCINEAE

Fruit medium, subglobose, crimson or scarlet when ripe, nutlets 2-5, distinctly ridged on the back; leaves thin or subcoriaceous.

Anthers pale yellow or whitish	C. gravesii
Anthers purple or red	1
1 Stamens 20	C. brainerdi
1 Stamens 10	C. praecoqua
1 Stamens less than 10	C. egglestoni

Crataegus gravesii Sarg.

Graves thorn

Rhodora, 5:159

Shrub or small tree with widely spreading or ascending branches; leaves ovate, obovate, elliptic or subrotund, thin, acute or rounded at the apex, rounded or cuneate at the entire base, unequally serrate with rather broad blunt teeth, with 3-4 short, broad, acute or rather blunt lobes each side, at flowering time pale green, glabrous or with a few scattered hairs above, when mature firm, glabrous, dark green and shining above, paler below, 1-2 inches long and nearly or quite as broad, petioles slender, 4-12 lines long, slightly margined at the apex, sometimes slightly villose and glandular when young; flowers 5-12 in a cluster, on slender, short, glabrous or slightly hairy peduncles, calyx glabrous, its lobes narrow, elongated, minutely glandular, stamens 4-8, occasionally 10, anthers pale yellow or whitish; fruit globose or depressed globose, erect, pale red or orange red when ripe, crowned by the short erect or spreading calyx lobes, nutlets 2-3.

Clayey soil. Albany, North Greenbush and Westport. Flowers late in May or early in June, fruit ripens late in September. Closely related to C. coccinea rotundifolia, from which it may be separated by its thinner leaves, mostly fewer stamens, paler fruit and fewer nutlets. Our examples are shrubs more glabrous than the type. The young unfolding leaves are sometimes tinged with brownish red.

Crataegus praecoqua Sarg.

Early thorn

Rhodora, 3:27, 5:167

Shrub 8-10 feet tall with spreading branches; leaves ovate, oval or rhomboidal, acute or blunt at the apex, broadly cuneate at the base or on young vigorous shoots sometimes rounded, serrate, slightly divided into numerous short, narrow, sharp pointed lobes on each side, at flowering time thin, pale green and clothed above with short appressed whitish hairs, paler below and villose along the midrib and principal veins, when mature thick, dark green, shining, glabrous or scabrous above, paler below, 1.5-2 inches long, nearly or quite as broad, petioles stout, 4-6 lines long, margined on the upper part; flowers on villose, often branching peduncles, calyx tube hairy, its lobes narrow, elongated, glandular serrate, stamens 10, anthers pink; fruit subglobose, erect or drooping, slightly hairy, dark red.

Clayey soil. Crown Point. Flowers the latter part of May, fruit ripens the last of August or early in September. The species was first published under the name C r a t a e g u s p r a e c o x, but this was afterward changed to C. p r a e c o q u a.

Crataegus egglestoni Sarg.

Eggleston's thorn

Rhodora, 3:30

Shrub 5-10 feet tall with slender spreading or ascending branches; leaves oval, elliptic or suborbicular, acute or sharp pointed at the apex, broadly rounded or cuneate at the base, serrate, divided into 4-5 short inconspicuous acute lobes on each side, at flowering time thin, yellow green and hairy above with short whitish appressed hairs, paler and glabrous below, when mature thick or subcoriaceous, dark green and scabrous above, 1.5-2 inches long and nearly or quite as broad, petioles slender, 6-12 lines long, slightly margined at the apex, sparingly glandular; flowers 6-8 lines broad, 5-10 in a cluster, on rather long, loosely villose often branched peduncles, calyx tube glabrous or slightly hairy, its lobes entire or minutely glandular serrate, hairy on the inner surface, stamens 5-8, usually 5, anthers red or rose color; fruit subglobose or oval, crimson when ripe, the mostly persistent calyx lobes reflexed, appressed, nutlets 2-3, 3 lines long.

Clayey and shaly soil. Crown Point and Lansingburg. Flowers May 20-30, fruit ripens in September. The shrubs in the station near Lansingburg have recently been cut down. The spines are slender, straight or nearly so and 1.5-2 inches long. This species was originally placed in the section Anomalae, but there seems to be no character by which it may be clearly separated from the section in which it is here placed.

Crataegus brainerdi Sarg.

Brainerds thorn

Rhodora, 3:27

Shrub 6-10 feet tall with ascending or suberect branches; leaves at first thin, ovate or broadly ovate, acute or acuminate at the apex, rounded or broadly cuneate at the base, or on young and vigorous shoots often subtruncate or slightly cordate, sharply serrate, divided into 4-5 slight, acute or sharp pointed lobes each side, when young slightly hairy above with short appressed whitish hairs, glabrous below, when mature thicker and firmer, dark green above, paler below, 1.5-2 inches long, 1-1.5 broad, larger on young and vigorous shoots, petioles slender, 4-12 lines long, glabrous, with few or no glands; flowers in clusters of 6-12, 9-10 lines broad, very fragrant, supported on slender, glabrous, simple or branched peduncles, calyx lobes linear lanceolate, entire or slightly glandular, often tinged with red, stamens 20, anthers bright red, filaments elongated, often becoming red or pink, very persistent; fruit erect, subglobose or short oblong, 5-6 lines long, 4-5 broad, bright scarlet, flesh yellow, edible, nutlets 3-4.

Rocky or bushy pastures. Sandlake, Rensselaer co. Flowers May 15-25, fruit ripens the latter part of September. The long erect persistent reddish filaments afford an attractive and easily recognized character. They sometimes remain plump and fresh till the beginning of September. The blossoms have a decided potash odor and are very attractive to honey bees. The styles are generally 3 but occasionally 4. The species is rare with us, but well marked and beautiful both in flower and fruit.

TOMENTOSAE

Fruit small or medium, subglobose, oval or pyriform, orange red or scarlet, nutlets 2-5 with a cavity on each of the ventral faces; flowers usually many in a cluster; leaves thin or coriaceous, usually pubescent beneath.

Crataegus succulenta Link

Succulent thorn

Silva N. A. 13: 139, t. 181

Shrub or bushy tree 8-15 feet tall with widely spreading or ascending branches; leaves elliptic or subrhomboidal, acute or sharp pointed at the apex, cuneate at the entire base, serrate, with 4-6 short, acute lobes each side above the middle, at flowering time thin, slightly hairy above, pubescent beneath, when mature coriaceous, dark green and glabrous above, paler below, usually 2-2.5 inches long, 1.5-2 inches broad, on young and vigorous shoots somewhat larger and broadly or concavely cuneate or rounded at the base, petioles stout, 4-8 lines long, margined at the apex, often becoming red or reddish with age; flowers 7-8 lines broad, many in a cluster, supported on long, slender villose branching peduncles, calyx tube hairy or glabrous, its lobes laciniately glandular serrate, elongated, soon reflexed, hairy, stamens 15-20, anthers small, pink; fruit globose, scarlet, drooping, 4-6 lines long, flesh yellow, juicy, edible, nutlets 2-3, 3 lines long.

Clayey soil. Albany and Albia, Rensselaer co. Flowers from May 15-25, fruit ripens in September and usually hangs on the branches till late in October. Sometimes a few persist through the winter.

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SUPPLEMENTARY LIST OF PLANTS OF THE SUSQUEHANNA VALLEY

BY FRANK E. FENNO

Dryopteris goldieana (Hook.) Gray

Aspidium goldieanum Hook.

Goldie's shield fern

Hillsides near Nichols. Infrequent. August.

Panicum walteri Pursh

Panicum crus-galli var. hispidum Torr.

Cockspur grass

Common along the river. August–October.

Panicum minus (Muhl.) Nash

Wood panicum

Dry woods and thickets near Nichols. Not common. August, September.

Eragrostis major Host

Pungent meadow grass

Roadsides and along railways. Frequent. August, September.

Panicularia elongata (Torr.) Kuntze

Glyceria elongata Trin.

Long manna grass

In a swamp near Smithboro. Infrequent. August, September.

Eleocharis palustris (L.) R. & S.

Creeping spike rush

Low wet grounds, specially along the river. Common. August, September.

Smilax rotundifolia L.

Green brier. Catbrier

Thickets near Nichols. Rare. Stem more or less quadrangular and high climbing. Leaves five nerved. May, June.

Lemna trisulca L.

Ivy-leaved duckweed

Ditches and sloughs. Frequent. July, August.

Corylus americana Walt.

Hazelnut

Thickets along the river. Common. Apparently not found here on the uplands. March, April.

Corylus rostrata Ait.

Beaked hazelnut

Fence rows and thickets. Common. April.

Betula populifolia Marsh.

White birch

Plentiful along the valley road 3 miles south of Owego. May.

Betula lenta L.

Black birch

Rich woodland. Common. April, May.

Betula lutea Mx.

Yellow birch.

Rich moist woodland. Common. April, May.

Alnus incana (L.) Willd.

Tag alder

Borders of streams and swamps. Common. February–April.

Alnus rugosa (Du Roi) K. Koch

A. serrulata Willd.

Smooth alder

Mutton hill pond. This is its only station. February–April.

Fagus americana Sweet

Fagus ferruginea Ait.

Beech

Scattered throughout our territory. May.

Castanea dentata (Marsh.) Borkh.

Castanea sativa var. americana Wats.

Chestnut

A very common tree. July.

Syndesmon thalictroides (L.) Hoffmg.

Anemonella thalictroides Spach

Rue anemone

Woods and thickets. Common. April–June.

Rubus occidentalis L.

Black raspberry

Fence rows and neglected fields. Common. May, June.

Rhus copallina L.

Mountain sumac. Dwarf sumac. Upland sumac

Dry soil 3 miles south of Owego. Rare. June, July.

Parsonsia petiolata (L.) Rusby

Cuphea viscosissima Jacq.

Blue waxweed. Tarweed

Abundant in a neglected field near Nichols. August–October. Fine flowering specimens were collected as late as Oct. 24. The whole plant is very viscid pubescent.

Mitchella repens L.

Partridge berry. Twin berry

Woods. Common. June.

Cephalanthus occidentalis L.

Button bush

Swamps. Common. July, August.

Galium aparine L.

Cleavers

Damp shaded ground. Common. Summer.

Galium pilosum Ait.

Hairy bedstraw

Dry bushy places. Frequent. Summer.

Galium lanceolatum Torr.

Torrey's wild liquorice

Dry woods. Common. Summer.

Galium circaezans Mx.

Wild liquorice

Dry woods. Common. May–July.

Galium boreale L.

Northern bedstraw

Rocky soil, specially along streams. Common. June.

Galium asprellum Mx.

Rough bedstraw

Swamps and low grounds. Common. Summer.

Galium triflorum Mx.

Sweet-scented bedstraw

Damp woodland. Common. Summer.

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

PLATE 0

Inocybe castanea Pk.

CHESTNUT INOCYBE

1, 2 Two immature plants
3, 4 Two mature plants
5 Vertical section of the upper part of an immature plant
6 Vertical section of the upper part of a mature plant

7 Transverse section of a stem
8 A cystidium, x 400
9 Four spores, x 400

Inocybe squamosodisca Pk.

SCALY DISKED INOCYBE

10 Immature plant
11 Mature plant showing scaly disk
12 Vertical section of the upper part of a mature plant
13 Four spores, x 400

Inocybe excoriata Pk.

EXCORIATED INOCYBE

14 Immature plant
15, 16 Mature plants showing the excoriated surface of the caps
17 Vertical section of the upper part of an immature plant
18 Vertical section of the upper part of a mature plant
19 Four spores, x 400

Inocybe fallax Pk.

FALLACIOUS INOCYBE

20 Immature plant
21 Mature plant
22 Vertical section of the upper part of an immature plant
23 Transverse section of a stem
24 A cystidium, x 400
25 Four spores, x 400

Tricholoma subluteum Pk.

TWO COLORED TRICHOLOMA

26 Immature plant
27 Mature plant
28 Vertical section of the upper part of a plant
29 Four spores, x 400

Stereum burtianum Pk.

BURT'S STEREUM

30 Small plant
31 Plant with lacerated margin of the pileus
32 Plant with incomplete pileus
33 Three plants with confluent pilei
34 Four spores, x 400

PLATE 84

Collybia familia Pk.

FAMILY COLLYBIA

1 Cluster of small plants
2 Cluster of large plants with the center of the cap colored
3 Single large plant
4 Single large plant with the center of the cap colored
5 Vertical section of the upper part of a large plant
6 Transverse section of a stem
7 Four spores, x 400

Collybia acervata Fr.

TUFTED COLLYBIA

8 Cluster of eight plants, four with caps moist and more highly colored
9 Plant with pale tan colored cap
10 Plant with whitish cap
11 Vertical section of the upper part of a large plant
12 Transverse section of a stem
13 Four spores, x 400

Bovista pila B. & C.

ROUND BOVISTA

14 Immature plant
15 Mature plant ruptured at the apex
16 Vertical section of a young plant in edible condition
17 Part of a branching filament of the capillitium, x 400
18 Four spores, x 400

PLATE 85

Russula mariae Pk.

MARY'S RUSSULA

1, 2 Immature plants
3 Mature plant
4 Immature plant of darker color
5 Mature plant of darker color
6 Vertical section of the upper part of an immature plant
7 Vertical section of the upper part of a mature plant
8 Four spores, x 400

Russula furcata (Pers.) Fr.

FORKED RUSSULA

9 Immature plant
10 Mature plant with the cap partly expanded
11 Mature plant with the cap fully expanded
12 Vertical section of the upper part of an immature plant
13 Vertical section of the upper part of a mature plant
14 Four spores, x 400

PLATE 86

Psilocybe foenisecii (Pers.) Fr.

HAYMAKER'S PSILOCYBE

1–3 Immature plants with moist striatulate caps
4 Plant after the moisture has partly escaped from the cap
5–7 Mature plants with caps destitute of moisture
8, 9 Vertical sections of the upper part of two plants
10 Transverse section of a stem
11 Four spores, x 400

Pholiota vermiflua Pk.

WORMY PHOLIOTA

12 Young plant with gills hidden by the veil
13, 14 Immature plants showing the whitish gills
15 Mature plant with the cap fully expanded
16 Mature plant with the cap rimosely areolate
17 Vertical section of the upper part of an immature plant
18 Vertical section of the upper part of a mature plant
19 Transverse section of a stem
20 Four spores, x 400

FUNGI

FIG. 1-9 INOCYBE CASTANEA PK.
CHESTNUT INOCYBE

FIG. 14-19 INOCYBE EXCORIATA PK.
EXCORIATED INOCYBE

FIG. 26-29 TRICHOLOMA SUBLUTEUM PK.
TWO COLORED TRICHOLOMA

FIG. 10-13 INOCYBE SQUAMOSODISCA PK.
SCALY DISKED INOCYBE

FIG. 20-25 INOCYBE FALLAX PK.
FALLACIOUS INOCYBE

FIG. 30-34 STEREUM BURTIANUM PK.
BURT'S STEREUM

EDIBLE FUNGI

FIG. 1-7 COLLYBIA FAMILIA PK.
FAMILY COLLYBIA

FIG. 8-13 COLLYBIA ACERVATA FR.
TUFTED COLLYBIA

FIG. 14-18 BOVISTA PILA B & C.
ROUND BOVISTA

EDIBLE FUNGI

FIG. 1-8 RUSSULA MARIAE PK.
MARY'S RUSSULA

FIG. 9-14 RUSSULA FURCATA (PERS.) FR.
FORKED RUSSULA

EDIBLE FUNGI

FIG. 1-11 PSILOCYBE FOENISECII (PERS.) FR.
HAY MAKER'S PSILOCYBE

FIG. 12-20 PHOLIOTA VERMIFLUA PK.
WORMY PHOLIOTA

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Published monthly by the

University of the State of New York

BULLETIN 305 DECEMBER 1903

New York State Museum

FREDERICK J. H. MERRILL Director

Bulletin 73

ARCHEOLOGY 8

METALLIC ORNAMENTS

OF THE

NEW YORK INDIANS

BY

WILLIAM M. BEAUCHAMP, S. T. D.

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Bulletin 73

ARCHEOLOGY 8

METALLIC ORNAMENTS

OF THE

NEW YORK INDIANS

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METALLIC ORNAMENTS OF NEW YORK INDIANS

As there were national and provincial costumes in the countries of Europe, so were there differing fashions of dress and ornaments among the aborigines of New York and of the United States. In the heat of summer the simplest possible costume prevailed, except on festive occasions, and many had scant clothing in the winter season. On the other hand, the feather or fur dresses, or those of tanned or woven goods, have been described in picturesque terms. Without recounting these, it seems proper to give some idea how the New York Indians were arrayed when the white man came, and for some time after.

Henry Hudson said that the natives about New York bay wore various skins, and had ornaments of copper, but later writers were more elaborate in description. In the battle on Lake Champlain in 1609, the French leader was told that the three Mohawks "who bore three lofty plumes were the Chiefs, and that there were but these three and they were to be recognized by those plumes, which were considerably larger than those of their companions. . . They were provided with arrow-proof armor, woven of cotton thread and wood." Arent Van Curler mentioned similar Mohawk armor in his journal, Dec. 23, 1634. He saw a sham fight in a Mohawk town, nine men on one side and 11 on the other. "Some of them wore armor and helmets that they make themselves of thin reeds and strings so well that no arrow or axe can pass through to wound them." *Wilson*, p. 91

In the *Journal of New Netherland*, written from 1641 to 1646, it is said that the Indians "go almost naked except a lap . . . and on the shoulders a deer-skin or mantle, a fathom square of woven Turkey feathers or peltries sewed together, they make use now greatly of Duffels, Cloth Blue or Red, in consequence of the frequent visits of the Christians. In winter they make shoes of Deer Skins, manufactured after their fashion." *O'Callaghan*, 4:4

In his *Description of New Netherland* (1671) Arnoldus Montanus is quite elaborate, but had most of his account from the earlier one of Van der Donck. He said:

The clothing of the *New Netherlanders* is most sumptuous. The women ornament themselves more than the men. And although the winters are very severe, they go naked until their thirteenth year; the lower parts of the girls' bodies only are covered. All wear around the waist a girdle made of the fin of the whale or of seawant. The men wear between the legs a lap of duffels cloth, or leather, half an ell broad and nine quarters long; so that a square piece behind hangs over the buttocks and in front over the belly. The women wear a petticoat down midway the leg, very richly ornamented with seawant, so that the garment sometimes costs three hundred guilders. They also wrap the naked body in a deer's skin, the tips of which swing with thin points. A long robe fastened on the right shoulder with a knot, at the waist by a girdle, serves the men and women for an upper ornament, and by night for a bed cover. Both go, for the most part, bareheaded. The women bind their hair behind in a plait, over which they draw a square cap thickly interwoven with seawant. They decorate the ornaments for the forehead with the same stuff. Around the neck and arms they wear bracelets of seawant, and some around the waist. Shoes and stockings were made of Elk hides before the *Hollanders* settled here. Others made shoes even of straw. But since some time they prefer Dutch shoes and stockings. *O'Callaghan,* 4:125

In the *Remonstrance of New Netherland*, 1649, we are told that, beside a piece of duffels, deerskin or elk hide,

Some have a bearskin of which they make doublets; others again, coats of the skins of racoons, wild cats, wolves, dogs, fishers, squirrels, beavers and the like; and they even have made themselves some of turkey's feathers; now they make use for the most part of duffels cloth which they obtain in trade from the Christians; they make their stockings and shoes of deerskins or elk hides, some even have shoes of corn husks whereof they also make sacks. . . . They twine both white and black wampum around their heads; formerly they were not wont to cover these, but now they are beginning to wear bonnets or caps which they purchase from the Christians; they wear Wampum in the ears, around the neck and around the waist, and thus in their way are mighty fine. They have also long deers-hair which is dyed red, whereof they make ringlets to encircle the head; and other fine hair of the same color, which hangs around the neck in braids, whereof they are very vain. *O'Callaghan,* 1:281

The Dutch accounts are mainly of the Algonquin tribes toward the sea. In the interior ornaments at first differed. The Iroquois had very few shell beads, but sometimes used perforated fresh-water shells and beads of colored sticks. Sweet grass was tastefully woven, and colored porcupine quills, moose and deer hair were used in embroidery. There were a few bone ornaments, and many of perforated wood. Feathers were everywhere worn, and in a tasteful way. Skins were used with or without the fur, in the latter case being finely finished and adorned.

Father Bruyas gave the names of a few Mohawk ornaments used in the latter part of the 17th century. *Asara* was a necklace or belt, used also for ornaments put around the forehead. *Garensa* was a string of glass beads. *Gentare*, to put red hair about the neck. *Ennitiagon*, to put any ornament there. *Osa* was a robe, and *Tsiosat tsonnito*, a robe made of six beaver skins. *Atouannha* was a bracelet; for these they always wore, but it is significant that no word is given for brooches. *Onnigensa* describes the hair of women hanging down behind, it being the custom to braid it. *Gannonsen*, to mark on the body with the point of a needle, is the only allusion to tattooing, though this was frequently done. *Gasire* was a covering with long hair, called Iroquois stuff. *Garisk* was a stocking, and *Garisk onwe* mittens. There are also names for shoes, socks, blankets, caps and suspenders.

Curler (Corlaer) recorded a few words of this nature in 1635. *Assire* or *Oggaha* was cloth; *Endathatste*, a looking-glass; *Tiggeretait*, combs; *Dedaiawitha*, shirts; and he obtained other names for beads, wampum, caps, stockings and shoes. They had already European articles in constant use.

While there were early notices of copper ornaments along the Atlantic coast, Hudson was the only one to mention them as occurring within the limits of New York. Native copper implements have often been found in the interior of the State, but early metallic ornaments are there very rare, comprising only small beads. After early trade or colonization commenced, all was quickly changed. Copper and brass arrows replaced those of flint, and steel knives those of stone. Brass kettles were lighter and stronger than those

of stone and clay, and soon took their place. European beads came into request, particularly the large and artistic ones of Venice, globular or elliptic. Very long glass bugle beads were also much used, and the Jesuits brought rings and medals in abundance. Metallic bangles long disputed the field with the teeth of the bear and the elk, winning the day fully only when these animals vanished from the land. With the development of the wampum trade by the Dutch, in exchange for the prized beaver furs, shell beads and larger ornaments abounded in every Iroquois village. When the red pipestone came, a little over two centuries ago, the sphere of native ornament became greatly enlarged. Till near the close of the 17th century brass and copper delighted the Indian's soul. Then came silver ornaments, holding sway for nearly two centuries more. In the last half of the 19th century these gradually gave place to the cheap jewelry of the day, and New York Indian ornaments, as such, almost ceased to exist.

In the nature of things, we have but a confused idea of how an early Indian appeared when arrayed in all his bravery. The pictures which illustrate the first histories and descriptions were made in Europe, and are the artist's conceptions of things he never saw. A few seem to have been made under the supervision of the respective writers, but even these are far from accurate. Champlain's picture of the siege of the Oneida fort is a familiar instance. The illustrations of Capt. John Smith's various accounts have the same character. In all there is a groundwork of truth, but in all the details are affected by distance and the defects of memory, and still more by the taste or imagination of the artist.

This may possibly be otherwise where verbal descriptions are given, but allowances must be made even then. Usually men described what they saw in a general way, but we must remember that many described what they had not seen, using the accounts of others. There can be no question that this was often done without the slightest intimation that the matter was not original. Bearing this in mind, a few word pictures of personal appearance may be given, some of them outside this State.

In Wood's *New England Prospect* we are told that "a Sagamore with a Humberd in his eare for a pendant, a black hawk on his *occiput* for his plume, Mowhackees for his gold chaine, a good store of Wampompeage begirting his loynes, his bow in his hand, his quiver at his back, with six naked *Indian* spatterlashes at his heels for his guard, thinkes himselfe little inferior to the great *Cham;* he will not stick to say he is all one with King *Charles.*" *Wood,* p. 74. Of the Indians in general, in 1634, he adds to this account that "although they be thus poore, yet is there in them the sparkes of naturall pride, which appeares in their longing desire after many kinds of ornaments, wearing pendants in their eares, as formes of birds, beasts and fishes carved out of bone, shels and stone, with long bracelets of their curious wampompeag and mowhackees, which they put about their necks and loynes." At that time the women wore coats of turkey feathers. He said also: "In the winter time the more aged of them weare leather drawers, in forme like Irish trouses, fastened under their girdle with buttons." For more comfort, "many of them weare skinnes about them in forme of an Irish mantle, and of these some be Beares skinnes, Mooses skinnes, and Beaver skinnes sewed together, other skinnes, and Rackoone skinnes; most of them in winter having his deepe furr'd Cat skinne, like a long large muffe, which he shifts to that arme which lieth most exposed to the winde." *Wood,* p. 73

This will suffice for the clothing and general ornaments of the New York Indians toward the ocean, who were of the same family as those of New England, and whose apparel would be much the same. A few words may be said of the Iroquois in the interior, whose early opportunities of obtaining shell and metallic ornaments were few indeed.

While most of the Huron-Iroquois went much of the time nearly naked, they did not in the least object to fine robes and ornaments for festive occasions. Champlain described the Huron women as wearing a petticoat, and often heavy strings of beads. Beaver robes were common. The Jesuits said that men and women went bare-headed, and a headdress was used only as an ornament. Their robes were the hides of elk, bear and other animals, and the women

painted these, drawing lines from the top about two inches apart. They thought most of the skin of a small black animal, as large as a rabbit and with soft fur. About 60 of these were required for a square robe. The tails hung down, making fringes, and the heads formed borders above. *Relation*, 1634

The ordinary shirt or tunic was made of two dressed deerskins, quite thin, fastened on the shoulders and reaching midway on the leg. Fringes were cut in this at the armholes and around the bottom. Coverings for the arms were sometimes added, secured about by cords before and behind. Claws, hoofs and teeth were occasional ornaments, but metallic ornaments soon replaced these. Dyed hair was freely used, and feathers and porcupine quills were often in request. In early warfare the head of some animal was often placed on the warrior's shoulder or head. Painting was customary both in peace and war, and tattooing was frequent. The former still continues among the New York Iroquois.

As this paper deals mainly with the metallic ornaments used by the Indians of New York, which are but rarely prehistoric, the foregoing will suffice to show the general attire of these nations at and about the advent of the white man. After that time changes came rapidly. Those who would follow up the subject in a broader way can not do better than to consult the *Dress and Ornaments of Certain American Indians* by Lucien Carr. This treats of the attire of the Indians of the United States east of the Mississippi, as described by early chroniclers. Of the changes of the last two centuries little is said, nor of some which came 50 years earlier. His admirable summary, with its accurate notes, is valuable and convenient for this early view, but hardly touches the subject now to be considered.

In a previous paper, some references have been made to the reports of copper articles seen by early navigators. Verazzano saw Indians wearing plates of wrought copper as he sailed along the Atlantic coast. These they valued highly. Farther northeast, the savages had copper ornaments in their ears. De Soto saw small copper hatchets in Georgia, and heard of a supply of this metal farther north. The Montreal Indians told Cartier of copper in 1535-

Gosnold met with it on the Massachusetts coast in 1602, and one of his associates has left us quite an account. Brereton said that the Indians "have also great store of copper, some very red, and some of a pale color: none of them but have chains, earrings or collars of this metal; they head some of their arrows herewith, much like our broad arrowheads, very workmanly done. Their chains are many hollow pieces connected together, each piece of the bigness of one of our reeds, a finger in length, ten or twelve of them together on a string, which they wear about their necks; their collars they wear about their bodies like bandeliers a handful broad, all hollow pieces like the other, but somewhat shorter, four hundred pieces in a collar, very fine and even set together. Besides these they have large drinking cups made like skulls, and other thin blades of copper very much like our boar spear blades." *Brereton*, ser. 3, 8:91

Another in the same company tells of "tobacco pipes steeled with copper," and of a savage who had "hanging about his neck a plate of rich copper, in length a foot, in breadth half a foot for a breast-plate, the ears of all the rest had pendants of copper."

It can hardly be doubted that this was European metal, the pale copper approaching brass or bronze, though Brereton understood from the signs of an Indian that they dug it on the mainland. The same kind of arrowhead is yet found on recent Iroquois sites. The hollow cylinders of metal had reached the Mohawk valley certainly as early as 1600. The belts with their short tubes still occur in recent Iroquois graves, "very fine and evenly set together." All these will be illustrated from various collections, and their identity can be shown by comparison with the famous relics at Fall River.

The "tobacco pipes steeled with copper" present the same difficulty that is met with in those described by Hudson in New York bay. If both descriptions are allowed, they must also have had the same origin as the arrowheads and tubes. In this connection it may be suggested, as is probably true, that Roger Williams's famous statement that the Narragansetts "have an excellent Art to cast our Pewter and Brasse into very neate and artificiall Pipes," had some slight early ground. Brass and pewter pipes occur on Indian

sites in New York, but there is little reason to think them made by the red man. Such pipes Williams probably saw among the Rhode Island Indians. They could cast pewter and lead, and he too quickly determined that all were made by them. The copper used along the Atlantic coast at the beginning of colonization is now generally conceded to be European, with some rude articles of native metal here and there. The mouth of the St Lawrence was so long haunted by European fishermen that many things may have found their way southward along the coast through aboriginal trade, but it is equally probable that some adventurer pushed his vessel along the shore, without recording his trip.

The writer's general conclusion is that native copper articles were not in use in New York as late as the year 1600, but that European articles of brass or copper were used along the seashore, and had even reached the interior by that time.

One article from the Mohawk valley, not represented here, is a stone mold for casting lead or pewter ornaments. It is a flat piece of stone in which three circles have been neatly cut, each with several deeper depressions, to form bosses on the rings. The diameter is about that of a common cent, and there are sloping grooves to carry off the superfluous metal, or to run the metal into the mold, that being covered.

Native copper ornaments

While implements of native copper have been found in New York, ornaments are very rare and mostly confined to beads. A very few are undetermined, but several forms found elsewhere are unreported here. On the other hand, no state has yielded more recent metallic ornaments, and the use of some peculiar forms yet continues. There is little that is certain as to the date of these earlier articles, but most of them may be allowed quite a respectable antiquity. The recent ones can often be dated within a score of years, being found on sites whose age and time of duration are known.

The native copper beads of New York are either small spheres or hollow cylinders, and of these the first seem most numerous.

Mr S. L. Frey gave an account of some he found in a grave near Palatine Bridge in 1879. In this grave were stone tubes. He said:

Near the tubes, and also embedded in the hematite, I found what had apparently been a necklace or headdress, composed of copper and shell beads; the former were badly oxidized, and had been made of thin sheets of copper rolled into tubes. That they had been worn around the head or neck was evident, for one side of the skull and the lower jaw were stained a dark copper color. . . On the same level as the last grave and about 6 feet to the west of it, I came to another, similar in all respects, lined with flat stones . . . The relics found were the remains of a necklace of shell beads, little copper tubes and small seashells. *Frey*, p. 642–43

Mr Frey kindly furnished fig. 369, showing two of these beads, adding this note:

The copper beads found in the tube graves are very small, made of rolled metal, and so much oxidized as to make it difficult to determine their original size. I, however, send the best sketch I can. They appear to have been from a quarter of an inch to 1½ inches long, and perhaps ⅛ inch in diameter.

The question of comparative antiquity is suggested by the varying character of these graves, but that most of them were of quite an early age, no one will doubt. In form the beads are precisely like those of historic times and made in the same way. Researches in Ohio have demonstrated the early use of native copper beaten into thin sheets, preparatory to use in other forms, so that this presents no difficulty.

Fig. 239 is a similar bead found by the writer by the Seneca river, in 1878, in the same field where a fine native copper spear was obtained. In section it is more nearly square than circular, and is much corroded. Small ornaments of this kind would rarely be long preserved except under favoring circumstances, and are thus naturally rare. In graves or on village sites only would they last long. This will account for the brief treatment native copper here receives.

There was a later use farther west. Alexander Henry saw native copper at the mouth of the Ontonagon river in 1765, and said that the Indians "were used to manufacture this metal into spoons and

bracelets for themselves. In the perfect state in which they found it, it required nothing but to beat it into shape." *Henry,* p. 187

Mr P. M. Van Epps described in the *American Antiquarian* for 1894 a cemetery north of Schenectady, in which a copper ax was found. In another grave afterward, 135 copper beads were obtained. In a letter to the writer describing these, he said:

> The copper beads were quite peculiar, being quite unlike the common tubular beads of the western states. These were made by rolling together quite thick chunks or welts of the native copper, till the finished bead was, in some cases, as large as a small hickory nut. The bar or strip of copper used was, for some of the beads, so thick that two or three turns made a large bead. Mr Clute, the finder of the beads, told me that he gave two of the larger ones to friends, mechanics in the Schenectady Locomotive Works, who desired to pound them into finger rings, but found, to their surprise, that not a file in the works would cut them, and that they had to be annealed before they could be worked out as they wished. In short, that they were tempered or hardened. I can not vouch for this. At any rate, the beads are a unique lot, and it is very unfortunate that the finder allowed them to be separated.

These were found about 1890. The writer, himself, has seen a bit of native copper from Brewerton which rang like steel. Fig. 236 and 237 represent two of these beads still belonging to Mr Clute. Fig. 238 is a smaller one now owned by Mr Van Epps. They are very well worked, and the junction outside is not at first apparent. The surface is neatly rounded, and the ends flattened. These are some of the smaller beads. The larger ones could not be obtained.

Recent beads

The earlier brass beads show European contact preceding colonization. Fig. 245 is a fine cylindric bead of this material, well made and over 3 inches long. This came from the early fort on Garoga creek in Ephratah, and was found by Mr S. L. Frey. Fig. 256 is another from the same fort, which is less than half as long. Out of hundreds of relics found there these are all that came from the white man's hands. It is reasonable to suppose that the Mohawks who used these, had them before they left Canada. This is in the Richmond collection. Fig. 234 shows another in the same collection

from the early Cayadutta fort, south of Johnstown. This is nearly 7 inches long, straight and cylindric, and is the only European article yet reported from that site. Had these forts been near the Mohawk river, there might have been a possibility that these beads were lost by wayfarers. Their positions are too remote and difficult for this; and, as their date is just before the great influx of European articles, they may be connected with Cartier's visit to Montreal, or with traders who soon followed. [After the above was in print the writer examined a tubular bead of European copper, found on an early village site in Jefferson county in 1903. This and a fragment of pottery definitely placed this village in the latter part of the 16th century. The bead retains its smooth surface and is 1½ inches long.]

A few later examples of the same class of ornaments may be given. Fig. 243 is a fine cylindric brass bead, found by Mr Frey on the site of the early Mohawk town of *Tionontoguen*. This is 3¼ inches long. From another site he has a similar larger one, 11½ inches long and nearly half an inch in diameter. Fig. 244 is longer than the last figured, and slightly tapering, as though it might once have been the stem of a brass pipe. It is 3⅞ inches long, and was found within the stockade in Chase's woods, on the south line of Pompey. Fig. 254 is an unusually slender brass bead, found at Indian hill in Pompey. This gives it an age of nearly 250 years. It is about 2⅛ inches long and is well made. Fig. 255 is from the fort near Pompey Center, a little earlier than the last and a few miles farther south. It is ruder than most others. Fig. 257 is from the same fort, and is very neatly finished and in fine preservation. It is less than an inch long. Fig. 249 shows four small beads of polished brass, also from this site and of fine workmanship. The brass is neatly cut at the edges and symmetrically rolled. Three of them are much smaller at the ends than in the center, differing from most that the writer has seen.

While many of these beads retain their first use, no small portion were worked up from broken kettles, as other ornaments were. Fig. 248 is probably not of this character. It is a neat and cylindric coil of narrow brass or copper, forming a close but elastic tube, 3¾ inches long and over ⅜ inch in diameter. It was taken from a grave

on the edge of Canajoharie village. With it were iron tools and an R. Tippet pipe.

Fig. 246 is in the Hildburgh collection and was obtained at a recent Oneida site near the lake. It is a slender cylindric coil of thin brass, 3 inches long, and retaining the cord on which it was strung. Fig. 247 the writer picked up on a recent Cayuga site. It is slightly curved, perhaps by use, and is smaller and ruder than the last. Such forms have been abundant and were easily made.

Fig. 261 has a slight resemblance to the last, but is unique, so far as known. A slender wire was doubled and neatly twisted, making a slender link about 2¼ inches long. Several of these united in a chain made a graceful necklace. This came from the Smith farm, west of Fort Plain.

Fig. 250 to 253 are from a unique lot of slender silver beads, most of which now belong to the writer. They vary somewhat in length and thickness, some being no thicker than the common knitting needle of old times. Fig. 253 is the longest and thickest of this lot, being 2¼ inches long. They are plain or slightly ornamented. These came from the Onondaga reservation. Fig. 197 is taken from Morgan's figure of shorter but similar beads. In the latter figure the slender silver tubes were divided by globular glass beads, but this practice did not prevail among the Onondagas.

Three illustrations are given of small and spherical brass or copper beads, all of which are recent. Fig. 240 shows those which are quite small. These came from Boughton hill in Victor, and they are of the 17th century. They are now in the Buffalo collection, and are but little larger than a large pin's head. Fig. 241 shows five out of a lot of 10 beads in the Hildburgh collection. These are much larger, and came from Ontario county. They may be given the same date, as silver took the place of copper and brass about the beginning of the 18th century. Among the poorer Indians they may have continued longer. Fig. 242 shows some beads from the Onaghee site, on the McClure farm in Hopewell. They are a little smaller than the last but of the same character. These also are at Buffalo.

Fig. 235 is a unique article, differing from a cylindric bead and yet suggestive of one. It was found at Indian castle in Pompey, a site occupied in 1677 and for some time earlier. It is a long and slender silver tube, having rows of small perforations at one end. This suggests its use by the medicine men in blowing the medicinal water on the patient. It is moderately curved and is seven inches long, but is quite likely not to have been a mere ornament. If it had that character, something might have been attached by using the holes. One small elliptic lead bead came from the Onondaga fort of 1696.

Pendants or bangles

A favorite ornament for the past three centuries is a conical roll of sheet metal, attached to various parts of the dress. Collectively they may form fringes, and their tinkle adds to the music of the dance. They often have colored hair, or other adornments, drawn in so as to form tassels. The copper has often preserved these frail materials for over two centuries. They are usually of moderate size, but Mr Hildburgh has one from Oneida Valley about $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches long. Mr Schoolcraft figured a cluster of three from Onondaga county, presumably from the site of 1696. He said they were "three fourths of an inch in length, bell-shaped, and composed of native copper, beat very thin." *Schoolcraft*, p. 143. At a later day his judgment would have been different. They are found on most recent Iroquois sites, but the later Indians have used other metals. The writer recalls none of native copper.

Fig. 262 is of brass and of unusual size. The writer found this on Indian hill, Pompey, many years ago, and the smaller ones were then frequent there, as well as shreds of sheet brass and copper. Fig. 263 is a characteristic example found 2 miles west of Canajoharie. Fig. 260 is one of the common form from Indian hill. Fig. 259 is one from Cayuga, retaining the ornamental hair and part of the cord. They have been common on most recent Iroquois sites, and are frequent in collections. Fig. 258 is a cluster of these belonging to an Onondaga Indian, but these are now made of iron. Lead or zinc may be used instead. One early form of bangles was of deers hoofs, and for this sheeps hoofs may be substituted.

Bells

When the French abandoned the fort at Onondaga lake in 1658, the mission bell was carried to Indian hill, and was there used for a long time. In early days nearly all the fragments of this were found, and also a small bell without a clapper. Mr Clark said that the former "would have weighed probably one hundred and fifty or two hundred pounds. The metal is very fine. . . Time and exposure have not changed it in the least. When found, some twenty years since, it was broken up, and the pieces found were enough to make it nearly entire." *Clark*, 2:276

Mr Clark also says that near the fort of 1696 "numerous little bells, such as are sometimes used by the Romish priesthood," have been found. He reported this from hearsay; but the only bells familiar to the writer from Iroquois sites are those commonly called hawk bells, like the sleigh bells of modern days, but lighter. These are frequent, and were probably attached to the dress when dancing. They are usually of brass, and are sometimes nearly perfect. Mr W. L. Hildburgh has two of silver from Ontario county, the only ones yet reported. They are as large as his brass bells, and larger than some. Fig. 267 shows one of these. They are sometimes quite small, as in two of his brass ones from the same county. Fig. 266 shows half of a large one from Pompey. Fig. 264 is a fine one from the fort near Pompey Center, and this seems the oldest yet reported. When some from that town were exhibited, a local paper said, "These bells belong to a period 3000 years ago." Fig. 265 is a smaller size from Fleming, where they are often found.

The Moravian missionary, Heckewelder, spoke of this feature of Indian dress in the 18th century. The women have "a number of little bells and brass thimbles fixed round their ankles, which when they walk, make a tinkling noise, which is heard at some distance; this is intended to draw the attention of those who pass by, that they may look at and admire them." *Heckewelder*, p. 205. At the burial of a Delaware woman of rank, on the upper borders of moccasins "were fastened a number of small round silver bells, of about the size of a musket ball." *Heckewelder*, p. 271

He elsewhere refers to the "thimbles and little brass rattles on their ankles." In the summer of 1901 the writer saw some of these thimbles in Fleming, taken from a Cayuga grave. They were simply perforated at the end for suspension, and must have admirably answered Indian purposes.

Men had plainer ornaments for a similar use, but the bells and thimbles were for the women, who were expected to be better dressed. Sometimes bits of brass were perforated and strung on the moccasins or other parts of attire, to produce a tinkling sound. These might please the ear in the dance, but it hardly seems probable they were intended to draw attention to the wearer at other times. Such ornaments were not peculiar to America.

Fig. 375 shows one of two pewter hawk bells found in Pompey, which could have produced but a dull sound. They are of small size and are now much flattened. The writer has seen no other bells of this metal.

Bracelets

Bracelets of native copper occur in various parts of the country, but there are none of which the writer feels certain in New York. These early ornaments were simple rings, usually thick, and sometimes with the ends so firmly in contact as to show they were not intended to be removed. Some of this kind were found in the great Smith mound in Kanawha county, West Virginia. They were elliptic and heavy, the ends abutting, and measured across $2\frac{3}{4}$ by $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches. There were six on each wrist of a skeleton. In the same mound was a copper quadrangular gorget with indented sides and two perforations. The length was $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $3\frac{3}{4}$ wide. These gorgets also do not occur in New York. Some have been found in Wisconsin.

In a mound in Crawford county, Wis., was an instance of intrusive burial, with many recent relics. Among these were three copper bracelets, 10 silver ones fluted, like those in use here, a copper kettle, silver locket, silver earrings, six circular silver brooches, a copper finger ring, and a double silver cross, $5\frac{1}{4}$ by $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches. *Thomas.* Explorations, p. 51

In the *Relation* of 1658 it is noted that the Indians not only wear bracelets on the wrist, but above the elbow and ankle, and on the leg. These uses partially appear in the account of Capt. David's dress, elsewhere given. In Romney's picture of Brant the broad and simple silver band above the elbow is conspicuous and tasteful.

A few copper bracelets in New York are much like early forms, but they also suggest nose rings. Others are made of copper wire, neatly bent into the desired form. Last come the flat silver bracelets, with holes for attachment at the ends. Many of these were made by Indian silversmiths, but the writer has seen one more elaborate pair with the name of an Albany silversmith, and one of the Wisconsin mound bracelets had on it the name of Montreal, and another the letters A. B. The silver bracelets sold at an early day by the French and English at Niagara and Oswego, are mentioned elsewhere. The Seminoles of Florida still wear silver wristlets and headbands, and make ornaments from coins.

From the site of the Onondaga fort of 1696, Mr Clark reported "bracelets for the wrists 3 inches broad, of brass highly wrought." *Clark*, 2:281. Silver was little in use then, but the writer has seen no brass bracelets anywhere which would agree with this description. They are either quite narrow or else made of copper wire, bent back and forth so as to form a broad surface. Even then they have no great width. He may possibly have referred to the long diameter, as it encircled the wrist.

Fig. 305 is a copper wire bracelet from Fleming, which is a good example of this broad form. From its size, it must have been worn by a young person or woman. Fig. 309 is of the same character and from the same place. This includes a sectional view. Fig. 307 is a narrower one from Indian hill, Pompey, which is formed like the preceding.

Fig. 308 may be either bracelet or nose ring, but it is hardly likely the Indians would have used copper for the latter. It is a single length of heavy wire, neatly rounded at the ends, and came from the last named site. Fig. 382 is of the same character and from the same place. Fig. 310 is much like this, but the ends expand. This is from an Oneida site at Munnsville. Fig. 306 is a fine example,

somewhat flattened in the center and pointed at the ends, looked at horizontally, but with uniform breadth and rounded points when viewed the other way. It is grooved within and without, describes a true circle, and came from Cattaraugus.

Two narrow brass bracelets have one edge serrated wholly or partially. Fig. 370 is one of these from Fort Bull, near Rome N. Y. The ends are shown within the figure. The serration is complete in this. The other is from Geneva N. Y., where Mr George S. Conover had several of this kind. Fig. 371 shows this. The localities place them in the middle of the 18th century.

Fig. 372 is a small, narrow bracelet of fluted silver. Fig. 373 is of the same material, but is larger and has a series of circular figures stamped on it. Both are from Geneseo and are in the Buffalo collection. They belong to the latter half of the 18th century.

Fig. 365 is a thin and broad bracelet of corrugated silver, obtained by the writer on the Onondaga reservation. It is quite elastic, and there are two holes at each end for the insertion of strings for tying it. There are several narrower examples of this form in the State Museum, which do not differ materially from this.

Loskiel observed that "both men and women are fond of silver bracelets."

The armlet was of a similar character, and therefore requires no illustration here. It was broader, and worn just above the elbow. In Romney's picture of Brant this is conspicuous and very wide. They are not in use in New York now, but were often mentioned by early writers. One white man who was taken prisoner and adopted in 1763, was arrayed in Indian costume, and had both his arms "decorated with large bands of silver above the elbow, besides several smaller ones on the wrists." *Henry*, p. 110

These armlets were still in use less than 50 years ago, but not commonly, and they have long since disappeared. The writer has seen thicker bracelets of silver, made by an Albany silversmith, but regrets that he has neither example nor drawing of these. Except in material they were much like those used by our own people.

Fig. 405 to 410 are of silver bracelets in the State Museum, all of which were collected by Mrs Converse. All are fluted, and fig.

405 has notches along one edge, and some good tracery. Fig. 410 is much like this, but the fluting and tracery are somewhat different. The former has the central lines in scallops, but in the latter they cross. Fig. 406 to 409 have no tracery, but are simply fluted. According to the writer's notes, the figures are rather deep for the size. With the depth of little more than $\frac{5}{8}$ of an inch, they should be about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches across, but this is of no special importance. The form and style are well represented.

Brass tubes in leather belts

Brereton's account (1602) of the belts and collars, used by the New England Indians and made of hollow copper cylinders arranged side by side has already been quoted. That these were of European metal is now almost certain, though he thought them native. The arrows described are like those on recent New York sites. The copper plates, so called, are like others of brass elsewhere. The arrangement of tubes to form an ornamental belt is one familiar in western New York. The skeleton found at Fall River Mass. had similar articles, one being a brass plate 13 inches long, arrows precisely like those of the Iroquois in the 17th century, and a belt of brass tubes, each $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, which was the width of the belt. These were not arranged on leather, as in New York, but on pieces of sinew, being much longer than our tubes.

Capt. John G. Bourke described a similar ornament of tubes, apparently not arranged as a belt:

> In an ancient grave excavated not far from Salem, Massachusetts, in 1873, were found five skeletons, one of which was supposed to be that of the chief Nanephasemet, who was killed in 1605 or 1606. He was the king of Namkeak. On the breast of this skeleton were discovered several small copper tubes . . . from 4 to 8 inches in length, and from one eighth to one fourth of an inch in diameter, made of copper rolled up, with the edges lapped. *Bourke*, p. 494

In a grave in Caldwell county, N. C., were similar articles, but they seem to have been strung as pendants for the ears. There were five copper cylinders, $1\frac{1}{4}$ to $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, and from a quarter to half an inch in diameter, strung on leather. They were made of thin strips of metal, rolled so that the edges met in a straight joint.

Besides this there was a bracelet of similar smaller tubes, alternating with shell beads of modern form, and four iron implements. This determines the general age of some engraved shell gorgets found in this grave, which are more elaborate than those of New York. *Thomas,* p. 337

Some copper cylinders in the Toronto collection have a general resemblance to these recent forms, and suggest a similar use, but, while the arrangement is parallel, about the diameter of the beads apart, they are differently attached. Mr Boyle said:

This cut represents nine cylindrical copper beads just as they were found in the Tremont Park mound, Tidd's Island. They were lying on a piece of the original hide or leather to which they had been attached, and I was careful not to disturb them. They are made of beaten or leaf copper rolled into their present shape. In length they are from $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch to an inch, and vary from $\frac{3}{16}$ to $\frac{5}{16}$ of an inch in diameter. The fine thongs by which they were sewn to the hide are still adherent to the underside. *Boyle,* 1888, p. 49

Some examples of leather belts, adorned with brass tubes, have come before the writer, and, while the number of rows may vary, the same plan was followed in all New York specimens. Parallel and vertical cuts were made in the leather, in regular lines along the belt, and each division was wound with a thin piece of brass, giving a pleasing effect. Several rows of these copper or brass tubes thus encompassed the body.

Articles of this kind would not be easily lost, or if so, easily preserved, and they can be expected only in the graves of those able to afford such ornaments. Apparently they were far from common, and but two have met the writer's eye. Fig. 276 shows one of several fragments of one of these belts, taken from a Cayuga grave near Fleming. The brass tubes in this are of considerable size, being both longer and wider than in the other example. In its fragmentary condition there is no present indication of its width, except that the broadest part of the leather may be supposed to approach one margin. To the three remaining rows of tubes not more than one could reasonably be added.

Fig. 277 is a broader fragment, which has more rows of smaller tubes. There are five of these, probably all those belonging to the

belt. The broad line of leather on the upper side may be considered the margin, and the narrow fragmentary strip on the lower edge seems to have been outside of the tube arrangement at first, as it is now. This was found by Mr C. F. Moseley, at Honeoye Falls, and thus was used toward the end of the 17th century. That century, among the Iroquois, might well be termed the age of bronze.

Small images

When the red pipestone reached New York, about the end of the 17th century, it was found available for ornaments of all kinds. Shells also were more freely used, and both aided in displacing some metallic animal figures which had been made and used to a moderate extent. Fig. 269 is one of the oldest of these, and came from Indian hill, Pompey. It represents a flying squirrel, and is made of pewter or lead. These figures have no provision for suspension, and may have been used either for a toy or charm.

Fig. 268 is a small pewter human figure which lacks the arms. It is from Indian castle, Pompey, and of about the same date as the last. It is probable such figures were at one time abundant, but, when finer ornaments appeared, these were melted for bullets. These rude forms were easily designed and cast, and may be considered purely Indian work, possibly even that of children.

This can hardly be said of fig. 272, which is a rude turtle made of iron and found on the same site as the last. The casting of iron was beyond the Indian skill, but why a white man should have made so rude a figure, it is not easy to say. Fig. 273 closely resembles this in character, but the material is lead. It came from the same site. Fig. 274 is from a site in Pompey south of the last two, and perhaps a little later in date. It is rude and broken, and seems made of copper, but this has not been determined.

Fig. 270 is a rude bird, made of lead or pewter. This came from the McClure farm in Hopewell. Fig. 271 is a small animal form of the same material, found by C. F. Moseley at Honeoye Falls.

A rude and slender quadruped of lead or pewter came from Pompey, and was evidently cut into shape. The head is broken, but the figure is yet 2¼ inches long. A well wrought horse's leg, of

the same material, is from the same place, and is now 2½ inches in length.

A very fine human figure of iron came from the same place. There is an expanded base instead of the lower limbs, and it is nude except for either a serpent or a scarf passing over one shoulder and under the other. It is but little corroded, and may be of a later date than the site. A rude but spirited figure of an ape shows greater marks of age. This is also of iron, and both may have been children's toys. The last four are now in the state collection.

Lead medals or ornaments

Of about the same age as these animal forms is a series of lead ornaments suggestive of medals. In a sense they are rude, but some have well formed letters or numerals stamped or engraved on them. Fig. 230 is an elliptic medal, the loop of which has been broken off. On the side represented is a human figure, holding by the hands to a crossbar. On one side of the figure is a serpent with open mouth. Unfortunately the writer did not draw or take notes of the reverse. It was found on Darwin McClure's farm, Hopewell. Mr J. V. H. Clark described one like this, from the Onondaga fort of 1696, as "a medal of lead, oval-shaped, an inch and a half long, with the figure of a man suspended by his outstretched hands, supposed to be a representation of our Saviour on the cross, and a figure of a serpent. On the opposite side is a figure of a man in a sitting posture, resembling the characteristic position of the native prophets; or, as some interpret it, the devil." *Clark*, 2:280

Fig. 228 is a fine lead medal belonging to C. F. Moseley, and found by him at Honeoye Falls. On the side represented were well formed letters in a circle. Within and without these are several circles, and in the center are indistinct forms. Mr Moseley thought these parts of a building, perhaps a church. The writer could trace certainly only what seemed indistinct crosses. Of the letters, BEN appeared very plainly. This may be part or an abbreviation of Benedictus. Like most of these medals, this is made of

a flat piece of lead, bent over so as to be double throughout. Compare this with fig. 374.

Fig. 229 is from Tribes Hill, in the Mohawk valley, and is in the Richmond collection. The figures are in relief, and the edge tastefully wrought. The center is irregularly perforated. Fig. 231 is from Indian hill in Pompey. It has the figures 12 above, and below $46\frac{1}{4}$ in early characters. On the reverse is a broad loop for attachment.

Fig. 232 is in the writer's possession, and was found at Boughton hill in Victor. It was formed by welding two flat pieces of lead. These have come apart, and the side having H on it forms a flat ring, the inner line of which crosses the H and forms a circle, outside of which is ornamental work. On the reverse 79 appears above a line, and other characters below. There is a long loop for suspension. Fig. 233 was furnished by Mr James Nelson, of Cold Spring N. Y. It was found on an open air workshop, on the farm of Charles De Rham, but probably had no connection with it. It is pyriform in outline, and flat. There are inscribed characters on both sides and ornamental work about the base. Mr Nelson wrote: "It seems to me it might have been made from a musket ball by one of the few Indians that lingered about the coves of the Hudson." There would seem to be too much metal in it for this origin, but an ounce ball would spread over a considerable space.

Several similar medals from Pompey were placed in the writer's hands after the foregoing were described. All either were or had been double, with projections behind for attachment. Two are nearly alike, and may be compared with the one belonging to Mr Moseley. In the best preserved of these is a castle in the center, with several turrets. Fig. 374 is of this. The other shows three small crosses on an elevation below and in front of this. This centerpiece is inclosed by two circles of points, now bent out of shape. Between these, on the left, are the letters CAM; then a crown in the center above, and on the right of this the letters PEN. Fig. 398 shows the other, with the central perforation, the back having disappeared. It has the same letters in the same position, but

the crown has been obliterated. Possibly the lettering of Mr Moseley's medal may have been the same.

Another of these Onondaga medals is rude, but is perforated for suspension. The figures 44 are in the center, with $\frac{1}{2}$ on the right of these. Below is the figure 4 with some cross lines. This medal is not large. All these may have been articles thrown away by the whites after using, but picked up and treasured by the Indians.

Mr Frey has a curious and early ornament of this form and material, shown in fig. 387. It is larger than the last two, being $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, but has some features in common. In the center seems to be a shield inclosing a large fortified building, flanked by two separate towers. There is an ornamented half circle below these, and a large crown above. The date of 1630 is quite plain. The supporters are rampant animals, perhaps lions, but the heads are much worn. The one on the right shows the lion's mane. In the British arms this is the place for the unicorn. There is no lettering. Like some others, it is made of two plates, one inserted in the center of the other, and flattened to correspond with its outer surface, leaving a projection behind by which it might be attached to a belt or dress. It is much defaced, but the above features are easily seen.

Gorgets

One of the earliest metallic ornaments the Iroquois obtained was a small and perforated disk of brass, thin and saucer-shaped. It may have been used in several ways, but was probably attached to the clothing. The writer has found or seen a number of these. Mr Schoolcraft gave a figure of one of these with a characteristic description: "This article consists of a metal, which is apparently an alloy. It is slightly ovate, and is perforated in the rim, so as to have been hung transversely. Its greatest diameter is $2\frac{4}{10}$ inches. There are no traces of European art about it, unless the apparent alloy be such. Locality, valley of Genesee river." *Schoolcraft*, p. 135. Fig. 227 is from his, which is represented as being flat, but was probably slightly convex.

The finest silver gorget that has come to the writer's notice belongs to Mr Wyman, and came from an Indian grave in Mich-

igan. It is a circular disk, 6¼ inches in diameter, and with the usual tracery on the surface. Two large studs attached it to the garment. Nothing of the kind has been reported in New York, but it is likely that some of the larger ornaments for the breast had this mode of attachment. Silver gorgets were often mentioned in the 18th century, but many forms once in use are now entirely forgotten. Loskiel seems to refer to something like gorgets, where he says that the ornaments "of the men principally consist in the painting of themselves, their head and face principally, shaving and good clean garments, silver arm spangles and breastplates, and a belt or two of wampum hanging to their necks." *Loskiel*, 1:203

Fig. 221 is a small brass ornament of this kind, like a shallow saucer, and with two opposite perforations near the edge for attachment. This was found by the writer on a fort site partly in Wallace's woods, on the north line of Fabius. This was occupied early in the 17th century. Fig. 222 is a similar and larger one from another fort not far away. Both are in good condition.

Fig. 220 is a half circular piece of flat and thin brass, having a perforation near one point. Though its present form is perfect, it was probably circular at first. This came from Pompey Center. A longer one, with two perforations, came from another site in the same town.

Fig. 226 shows a small and thin brass crescent with a central perforation. It was found at Indian castle, Pompey, and suggests an ornament mentioned by Clark from an adjoining site. He said: "Several brass crescents have been found bearing the inscription, '*Roi de France et Dieu.*' These were probably used for nose and ear jewels." *Clark*, 2:262. This has no inscription, and may be smaller than those mentioned.

Fig. 275 is a rectangular brass plate from the Onondaga fort of 1696. There are two perforations near the upper corners, and the lower corners are rounded. Fig. 288 is a rude ornament of flat brass, made at the early day when every fragment of this metal was utilized. It is angular and oblong. One small hole has been completed and a larger one begun. The writer found this with fig. 221. Fig. 290 will illustrate how such fragments were used. It is

a strip of brass with three perforations. Fig. 367 is a pentagonal brass plate, and fig. 154 a brass circle, both perforated. These are from Indian hill, Pompey. There are others elsewhere.

Earrings

The earliest metallic earrings in use in New York were probably those of copper wire coiled and flattened. Fragments of these have puzzled some antiquaries. It is possible that some perforated disks and coins may have served the same purpose at an early day, but they are more likely to have been used in some other way. Glass and shell beads were also utilized for earrings, and probably many other things. In the picture of Colonel Pickering's conference at Buffalo, in 1793, all of the Indians wear in their ears large elliptic disks, each containing an engraved cross. *Stone,* 2:342. This form does not appear in any New York collections.

The earliest unmistakable form was of copper wire, bent at an acute angle in the center, and having the ends bent into a flat coil. This done, the wire was hammered down to half its first thickness. They are often broken in the center, and then give no suggestion of their use. In their symmetric form their purpose is evident. They are occasional in Canada, but are probably more frequent on Onondaga sites than elsewhere. The smallest which has met the writer's eye is a fragment from Ontario county, in the Hildburgh collection. They vary much in size.

Heckewelder described another ornament for the head which he observed at an Indian funeral. "Her long plaited hair was confined by broad bands of silver, one band joining to the other, yet not of the same size, but tapering from the head downwards, and running at the lower end to a point." *Heckewelder,* p. 270

Loskiel said: "At feasts, their hair is frequently decorated with silver rings, corals, or wampum, and even with silver buckles. Some wear a bandage round their heads, ornamented with as many silver buckles as it will hold." *Loskiel,* 1:48. He adds, "They also decorate the lappets of their ears with pearls, rings, sparkling stones, feathers, flowers, corals, or silver crosses." *Loskiel,* 1:49

One observation on Indian headdress, by this author, is of interest:

> The Delaware women never plait their hair, but fold and tie it round with a piece of cloth . . . The Iroquois, Shawanose, and Huron women wear a queue, down to their hips, tied round with a piece of cloth, and hung with red ribbands. The rich adorn their heads with a number of silver trinkets of considerable weight. This mode of finery is not so common among the Delawares as the Iroquois, who by studying dress and ornament more than any other Indian nation, are allowed to dictate the fashion to the rest. *Loskiel*, 1:52

In Miss Powell's account of an Iroquois chief in 1785, hereafter to be quoted, she said he had "a pair of immense earrings, which hung below his shoulders." The picture of Joseph Brant in his youth, by Romney, helps us to understand this, his pendants being of the same length. Half of the earring was a chain of large silver rings. From the base of this depended three chains of the same kind. A system of pendants was a favorite feature of this ornament, as will be seen later. Parts of these were easily detached and lost, and when thus separated have been misunderstood. Their Onondaga name is *Ka-wahs'-hah.*

Fig. 169 shows the earliest form of these ornaments known in New York, and was found in the Onondaga fort of 1654, where many have been obtained, both perfect and fragmentary. It is simply a piece of copper wire symmetrically coiled in opposite directions, and forming a loop in the center. This was then hammered down to a moderate degree. Of course there must have been some means of attachment to the ear, unless the opening was very large. Fig. 168 is from a neighboring site, occupied in 1677, and probably earlier. They were extensively distributed, but their use was confined to that century. They are often broken at the loop, and in this condition have perplexed some collectors.

A large proportion of the silver earrings known are later than colonial times, as will be seen in fig. 170, furnished by Mrs Converse, whose fine collection is well known. This has not only the American eagle, but the union shield on the breast. There is provision for a pendant in the loop at the base of the tail.

Fig. 171 also suggests a recent date, having the shield, scroll, eagle's head and stars. This also is imperfect, and came from Pompey. Fig. 173 is almost perfect, and was obtained at Cattaraugus by Dr Evarts. There is an arch above the spread-eagle, and a thistle head forms the pendant. These are national emblems of the United States and Scotland, but there is no reason for giving them any significance here. All that was desired was a pretty design.

Fig. 174 again shows the American eagle in an elaborate way, the stars appearing on the arch overhead. It is much like the last, having a similar boss on the breast, but the pendant is lacking. This was found long ago, at a place called the "Jumps," in the town of Clay, where the Onondagas annually met to renew the marks of the extraordinary leaps of a prisoner.

Fig. 172 is an earring of curious design, obtained by the writer on the Onondaga reservation. The elliptic center is in high relief, and has a lower notched border on each side. It is perfect, and the loop for attachment on the back is much like that of fig. 185, but more slender. This kind of loop belongs to several which follow, and is very nicely made.

Fig. 175 and 176 are much alike, differing in the number of pyriform pendants and the size of the rings. Fig. 176 seems perfect. Both belong to Onondagas, and their form seems rare. Fig. 177 is from the same reservation, and seems a triangular pendant belonging to a large earring.

Fig. 178 is unique. At the top is the half spherical ornament seen in some others, as well as the loop behind. Below this is a columellar appendage with three angular contractions varying the outline. It belongs to an Onondaga woman. Fig. 182 has the half spherical ornament just mentioned, with the usual loop. The writer obtained this pair at Onondaga, as well as fig. 185, which is of the same character but larger.

Fig. 179 is a very fine earring obtained by Mrs Converse. This form is rarely perfect. There are bosses on the lower corners of the large triangle, with a glass setting in the center. Below are three small pendants of a frequent form. Fig. 180 was obtained by the writer at Onondaga. The upper ornament frequently forms

a complete article, with or without a glass setting. It has the loop behind this diamond form, and a triangular pendant below. Both these have glass. It will be observed that there are holes for attaching three small pendants below. Fig. 181 has these pendants in place at the base of a similar large triangle, but is incomplete above. This has a glass setting, and belongs to an Onondaga woman. Fig. 184 belongs to the same person, and is elliptic in outline, with notched edges. It is imperfect. Fig. 189 is another of hers, also imperfect. It is pyriform and set with glass, and in general character is much like the upper part of fig. 183 reversed. Fig. 193 is hers also, having a common form of small pendant attached to a thick elliptic ornament by a small ring.

Fig. 183 is another of Mrs Converse's fine earrings, which seems perfect. A pyriform ornament above, with scalloped edges and glass setting, has a triangular pendant below. The top and bottom of the latter are embossed. Fig. 190 is also hers, and is unique in material, being of gold. It is a plain ellipse and of small size, increasing in thickness by successive stages.

Fig. 186 the writer got at Onondaga. It is triangular, with projections and bosses, and plainly incomplete. Fig. 191 he had from the same place. It is of a diamond form, with bosses at the angles, and is perfect. This is a frequent form, alone or in combination. Fig. 192 is similar, but plainer and with more openwork. Several of this frequent form he also obtained there, which were set with glass. Fig. 188 is the triangular base of an Onondaga earring, which has a single boss. Fig. 187 is a very pretty circular earring, set with glass, which an Onondaga woman gave to the Onondaga Historical Association.

One unique pair which the writer got at Onondaga is not figured here. The design is a small padlock, with the key attached outside. There is little probability that this was of Indian make, but most of the foregoing are of Indian manufacture. The article in question is of delicate and beautiful workmanship, but not characteristic, like those shown.

Fig. 200 is taken from one of L. H. Morgan's illustrations. It is a large silver earring, with an eagle above a large triangle. The

latter has scalloped edges, and below the base are three small pendants. Some of the Onondagas wear a plain globular eardrop attached to a ring.

In the *Annals of Binghamton* occurs the following passage regarding the triangular pendants, and what is probably the shield part of earrings, though the description is not clear. It concerned the recent Indian occupation of Windsor N. Y.:

Deacon Stow, who grew up on these plains, mentioned two kinds of trinkets which he had often found, himself. One of a triangular form, about an inch from angle to angle, made of silver, and flat, of the thickness of a 10 cent piece, with a hole near one angle; supposed to have been worn for a pendant at the nose. Another, of silver also, made of a gridiron form, and about the circumference of a half dollar. Supposed to have been worn at the nose. *Wilkinson*, p. 143

Finger rings

Father Bruyas was accustomed to give his Oneida pupils in 1670, if they could repeat on Sunday what he had taught during the week, "pour recompense une corde de rassade, ou deux petits tuyaux de verre ou deux bagues de leton." These common beads, long bugle beads, and brass rings thus became very common, and upward of 30 rings have been taken from a single grave. The glass pipes or bugle beads are still found full 4 inches in length, though usually shorter. The rings in a grave may thus testify to faithful students. On the other hand, the missionary kept partially in view religious instruction. Beads might gratify taste, but might serve a more useful purpose if made into a rosary, with a cross or appropriate medal at the end. The rings almost invariably bore sacred symbols, and may have found place elsewhere than on the fingers. No Indian need buy them if he would be studious for a week.

These early rings are mostly of a rude and cheap character, but many are of good design and finish. Quite rarely one occurs of gold or silver, or even with a setting of small stones. At a later day they were almost entirely of silver, and often of a massive form. Some of these seem to have been made by the native silversmiths. They were found on all reservations, and the art furnished an Indian surname which still survives.

Mr Crisfield Johnson mentions that in 1796 there came to Buffalo Asa Ransom, "a silversmith by trade, who . . . went to work making silver brooches, earrings, and other things in which the soul of the red man and the red man's wife so greatly delighted." This was a profitable trade. In the Richmond collection is a box of tools and patterns for making silver ornaments, obtained from an Indian. Many white persons have seen the work done. Josiah Jacobs, of the Onondaga reservation, told the writer that his uncle *Ju-ne-gant-ha* "The tribe is very large," made brooches out of silver coins on a small anvil. These were hammered out, and then cut out by patterns. Punches and chisels were used, and his greatest difficulty was in setting colored glass in pendants and earrings. Other smiths are known by name to the writer.

In his report in 1852 Mr Morgan says of this:

> The most of the silver ornaments in later years have been made by Indian silversmiths, one of whom may be found in nearly every Indian village. They are either made of brass or silver, or from silver coins pounded out, and then cut into patterns with metallic instruments. The earrings figured in the plate were made out of silver, by an Onondaga silversmith of Grand River, under the direction of the writer. *Morgan. Fabrics etc.* p. 89

In the report of 1850 he said that hatbands, arm and wrist bands, earrings and brooches of silver, were principally of Indian manufacture. For some of these bars and sheets of silver were required.

Three bronze rings were found near finger bones in a bone pit on the Tuscarora reservation, probably a Neutral ossuary. Near these was a recent Canadian penny, probably dropped there in accordance with a local custom. When the Tuscaroras disturb bones or take anything from graves, they leave a small coin as an atonement or fair exchange. *Thomas.* Explorations, p. 513

Most collections made from recent Iroquois sites have these bronze rings, and those represented are selected from the many which have met the writer's eye. One of the most remarkable is perfectly plain, and is in the Hildburgh collection. It is a simple brass or copper cylinder, about $\frac{1}{8}$ of an inch long, and was found in Ontario county. Fig. 366 shows this fine example. Many articles which have a copper hue externally, appear yellow when cut.

The Jesuit rings are usually of brass or bronze, with an elliptic disk or seal, on which are many devices, sometimes almost effaced by use. I. H. S. with a cross above was a favorite; the heart, the letter L, the crucifixion, and sometimes a bust, appear on others. A moderate number will be illustrated. They are not often of large size, being given to young women and children as a rule. In New York none are as early as the middle of the 17th century, and few are as recent as its close. They came and went with the missions.

Cayuga county has been quite rich in these rings, and a moderate number have been figured and placed on record. Fig. 153 is one from a site near Fleming, where many have been found. There is a monogram in which M is the most conspicuous feature. A may be another part, or it may be an inverted V. As the heart above this is inverted, this may be the intention. There would thus be V. M., for Virgin Mary. Beneath the monogram is a flagon or pitcher. Fig. 343 is much like this, having the same monogram, but the fleur-de-lis takes the place of the other figures, and there is an ornamented border. It is larger than the last and came from the same place. There were five of these in one collection.

Fig. 314 has a fine full face and an illegible inscription. It came from the same place, with two others. Fig. 316 is also from Fleming, and shows a full face, with a small cross in the drapery on one side. Fig. 317 was found with the last, and has a bust with mitered head. A small cross appears. Fig. 324 is from the same place, and somewhat corroded. Though there seems to be one large cross and three small ones, it is probable that the correct rendering would be one large cross above I. H. S., as in other cases. The same may be said of fig. 329, which was found with the last, but is much smaller.

Fig. 325 is another of these Fleming rings, having I. H. S. in plain roman letters, surmounted by a cross with expanding limbs. There are three small crosses below, and an ornamental border. Fig. 330 shows another from the same place, the design of which is a large L, including a small heart and surmounted by a crown. This fine ring has an ornamental border. Fig. 334 is smaller, and has the L but not the other emblems. This is from Fleming, as well as

the next. Fig. 338 represents the crucifixion, with a bleeding heart on each side.

The following three are from the same place. Fig. 354 has a crown above and a star below. The intervening figure shows clasped hands. There were two of these, showing a neat border. Fig. 355 has the Virgin and Child, with a cross above. Fig. 347 has a heart-shaped signet, with a neat border inclosing a large A. No others have been observed like this.

Fig. 333 is from Scipioville, in the same county, and is much like fig. 330. Both have the fleur-de-lis beneath the L. Fig. 352 was picked up by the writer by a Cayuga grave, where many others had been found. At first sight there seemed to be an unfinished L, but a comparison with some to follow will show that it is the base on which the large heart was often placed.

There follow several from the McClure farm in Hopewell. Fig. 319 is a small ring with a head in profile. Fig. 320 is another fine ring, with a Maltese cross within a circle. Fig. 331 has an angular signet, with a plain border around a large L and a small heart. Few rings occur on this site.

Bronze rings have been abundant on some Oneida sites on Oneida creek, but most have disappeared. Two only will be mentioned now, both being from Munnsville. Fig. 321 has I. H. S. in plain characters, with a cross above. Fig. 358 is a small ring, with a pair of compasses inside of a ring.

Quite a number have been found at Brewerton, but of most of these neither figures nor descriptions have been secured. Fig. 315 has the unusual feature of a head with the face toward the outer edge. The work is rude for there is a great difference in these rings in every way. Fig. 359 has a very small signet for the size of the ring, and on this are circles and lines variously arranged. In 1900 there were taken from one grave in that place, 35 of these bronze rings, tied together with buckskin.

Dr Hinsdale obtained some rings in Pompey. Fig. 278 is one of these, and is a large pewter ring, with a double line of small projecting beads of the same material. Fig. 279 is a fine specimen,

with the crucifixion, and figures seated on either side. Fig. 323 is another fine ring, with an inside circle, cross and I. H. S.

The following are also from Pompey. Fig. 327 is a large and fine ring from a grave on the Williams farm, obtained in 1886. It has the cross and I. H. S., but in rather unusual form. Fig. 346 has a small head.

A number which follow are from the site of 1677, in Pompey. Fig. 313 has a king's bust and scepter. It is large. Fig. 326 is also large, and has the I. H. S. and cross. Fig. 335 has a large heart poised on a curved base, and with a border of curving lines. Fig. 336 is a smaller variant of the last, but the ring proper is more elaborate. Fig. 341 is of gold and has the Greek monogram for Christ. This is unique. Fig. 345 has a St Andrew's cross within a circle, and with dots between. Fig. 348 has characters of uncertain meaning, and the same may be said of fig. 350. Fig. 357 represents the crucifixion. This site has yielded so many rings and crosses as to suggest the thought that the Christian converts might have made it their home.

Of course Indian hill, the seat of the first Onondaga mission, would not lack articles of this kind; and a number follow from the Onondaga fort of 1654. Fig. 318 has a full face and a large key. Fig. 322 has the I. H. S. and cross while the ring part is quite elaborate. Fig. 328 is small, with I. H. S. and the cross. There is a border of dots or stars. Fig. 332 has a rather rude seal, and is small. The large L is not well done, and there may be a rude crown above it. There is a small heart and the ring part is elaborate. Fig. 340 has a small seal with a medium sized heart resting on the usual base. Fig. 342 has lines of indefinite character. Some may be intended for palms. Fig. 344 is a peculiar silver ring. The central portion is a quatrefoil, intersected by a four pointed star. In the center and at the ends of the quatrefoil are either pearls or small lustrous stones, some remaining. It is of very unusual character. Fig. 349 has characters suggestive of a Greek monogram. Fig. 351 also lacks definiteness, but was probably intended for a large heart with inclosing lines. Fig. 353 has a design suggesting either a cup or paten, perhaps with a crown above. Fig. 356 has a good figure

with extended arms, and a halo above the head. If intended for the crucifixion, the cross does not appear.

All those included in the foregoing paragraph have been recently gathered from this old town whence hundreds have been taken before. Mr Clark said that De Witt Clinton had a gold finger ring from this place, procured at the time of his visit.

Fig. 339 was sent to the writer by the late Rufus A. Grider, but the design is somewhat indistinct. A medium sized heart appears above the usual base, and there are other figures. This is from the Mohawk valley, where the old mission sites have yielded many. The writer regrets that he could not have given more attention to this class of articles, in visiting several notable collections, but time would not allow of this. Though of small size each one has minute details which must be preserved, and much time is often required to make out the design on account of corrosion. A great many, quite distinct and as full of interest, could doubtless be added to those here portrayed.

Fig. 364 is an illustration of a novel ring. A coil of iron wire several times encircled a finger, preserving the bone and as much of the flesh as came in contact. This was found in Fleming. Fig. 368 is a small coil of copper wire which may have served as a ring. This was found at Brewerton by Dr Hinsdale.

When the Iroquois made silver fashionable, bronze rings disappeared, and for two centuries their silver successors have fairly well held their place. They have disappeared more by being worn out than through a change of fashion, none having been made for many years. Fig. 363 shows one the writer bought of an old Oneida woman. The general form is well preserved, but, if there were ornamental details, they have been worn away. Mrs Converse was fortunate in getting two fine examples here illustrated from her drawings. Fig. 360 has two hands clasped over a heart. Fig. 361 has two hearts united. The symbolism is evident in both cases, though the Indians possibly may have cared little for this. Fig. 362 is the largest silver ring the writer has seen, and, as it was probably worn only on great occasions, it is in fine preservation. It was

given to Albert Cusick's mother by her second husband *Sah-go-hone-daté-hah,* "The one that spares another," a Tuscarora chief. When seen by the writer it had a string of 96 beads of mourning wampum attached to it.

Among the Onondagas *Kă-ne-kă-ah,* "Round thing," may mean a simple ring. *En-neah-hah'-sen* represents one for the finger. The former word is used for a hoop, but not for a wheel.

Fig. 383 is in Theodore Stanford's collection in Munnsville. It has an octagonal seal, containing a flaming heart beneath what may be an elongated star or a radiant cross. The ordinary rings are found on the Oneida sites about Munnsville, but most of those collected have already disappeared.

The five following rings are from Pompey, dating between 1655 and 1680. Fig. 389 has no emblems, but is of bronze. It had a setting which has been lost. Fig. 390 shows a person supporting the dead Christ. Fig. 391 may have been intended to show the letter L, but, while the work is sharp, the design is doubtful. Fig. 392 has stars, crossed arrows, etc. Fig. 393 has a circle, lines and dots. Fig. 394 is in Mr Frey's collection. There are human figures on each side of the crucified Christ.

A plain pewter ring was found at Hoffman's Ferry, which was a camping place. As these were common during the past century, the age and use are both uncertain, but, from the location, it seems to have had an Indian owner. Surface finds of this kind are subject to doubt.

Silver crosses

The finest foliated silver cross, used by Indians, which the writer has seen, was found on the banks of the Maumee river, Ohio, and was exhibited at the Pan-American Exposition in 1901. This is 13½ inches long and 8½ inches wide. It weighs 8 ounces, and is a Roman cross, each limb having foliated ends. One nearly as large, and perhaps as heavy, belongs to Mr Walter C. Wyman of Chicago. It is 12¼ inches long, and 8¾ inches wide, and is more highly ornamented than any of these large crosses which the writer has seen. Three limbs have the usual foliation, but the upper one terminates

this abruptly. At the intersection are four ornamental quadrants, forming a quatrefoil with the surface ornamentation. The base bears longitudinally the name of the former owner, *Pandikaikawa*, an Ottawa chief. Two other fine crosses are in the same collection, but they are of a different character. An account of these was given in the *Chicago Evening Post*, Oct. 8, 1898.

Two much like this, but without the central quadrants, were figured and described by Mr Charles C. Jones in the *Smithsonian Report* for 1881, p. 619. The drawings are half size, and show both faces of each cross. In these the rings for suspension remain. One cross is $8\frac{3}{8}$ inches long by $7\frac{1}{2}$ wide; the other is 8 inches long by $7\frac{1}{4}$ broad. They were taken from a grave-mould at Coosawattee Old Town, Murray co. Ga., in 1832, and are fine examples. Mr Jones said: "Indian relics were found associated with them. We incline to the opinion that they may properly be referred to the expedition of Hernando de Soto." As will be seen, their true date is the latter part of the 18th century, or possibly later. In New York and Canada they were in use but a few years ago. To show how little these were thought of as symbols, it may be said that on one of the Georgia crosses the owner had engraved an owl and a horse's head. Morgan said that birds and beasts were sometimes engraved on them, and two had the name of Montreal stamped in the center. The writer obtained all his double crosses from one pagan family.

Fig. 198 is from Morgan's report in 1852, and is a reduced figure of a cross 10 inches long and 6 wide. This he had from a Cayuga at Grand River reservation in Canada. It is of the common form. Fig. 209 is a smaller one from the *League of the Iroquois*, the size of which is conjectural, but it is apparently about 5 inches long. In the center it approaches the character of Mr Wyman's fine Ottawa cross.

Fig. 205 is a reduced drawing of a fine silver cross in the Richmond collection, which is $9\frac{3}{8}$ inches long and $7\frac{1}{4}$ wide. The ring for suspension remains. Each limb is foliated, and the name of Montreal is stamped in the center. The writer did not learn its history, but many seem to have been made at Montreal for general trade purposes, and they are usually without any religious symbols

on the surface. They may be considered mere ornaments. This also appears from Sir William Johnson's journal of Sep. 17, 1761, when he left some at Detroit for purposes of trade. They were to be sent to Mackinac. He said: "I counted out and delivered to Mr Croghan some silver works, viz, 150 earbobs, 200 brooches or breast buckles, and 90 large crosses, all of silver, to be sent to Ensign Gorrel." *Stone.* Johnson, 2:464

The smaller silver crosses are usually ornamental, and have from one to three crossbars. Those with two are most common, and have been widely distributed. A fictitious antiquity and rarity have been ascribed to these under the name of the patriarchal cross. All of the writer's examples he had of the Onondaga Indians, as stated before.

Mr David Boyle figured a fine double-barred silver cross from Beausoleil island in the Georgian bay. It is like fig. 207 but larger, being 4⅛ inches high. Two others were with it. He said of this:

Double-barred crosses of this kind are now, it seems, unknown in connection with Catholic worship, and it is somewhat singular that, since we received these relics of the old Hurons, another one almost identical in size and pattern should have found its way to our collection from the Northwest, where it was picked up during the late rebellion. . . Regarding the peculiar form of cross from Beausoleil island, Dean Harris of St Catharines, writes: This small, dual cross is permitted to be worn only by patriarchs of the Latin church. It is also sometimes carried as a processional cross, and, as Richelieu was bishop and cardinal, it is possible that he used such a cross either as pectoral or processional. In all probability these ornaments were sent out to Canada during his *régime*, and, receiving the blessing of the priest among the Hurons, would have served the double purpose of being ornamental and of being used in devotion." *Boyle*, 1891, p. 64

As Richelieu died in 1642 and the Hurons were overthrown at the close of that decade, while this form of silver ornament did not come into use among the Indians till a century later, this ingenious conjecture fails; but the writer has shown that the double-barred crucifix was used in New York in the 17th century. The makers of mere ornaments since then had little care for the original use or meaning of articles, so long as they were attractive to the eye, and would sell.

Some Indian chiefs have been represented wearing the triple cross, but otherwise the only one reported and figured is Mr Wyman's. The central bar of this is longer than the others, and all the limbs are foliated. Tasteful open work adds to the effect, but the general character is that of similar double crosses. This form has been called the pontifical, but is purely ornamental in design. The figure furnished is $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches long by nearly $2\frac{1}{4}$ in the widest part. Like his others, this is from a Michigan grave.

Mr Wyman has also a fine silver double cross, $4\frac{5}{8}$ inches long and $2\frac{1}{2}$ broad, with a ring for suspension. The base is broad, and the ends of the limbs foliated, the upper crossbar being shorter than the lower. This is a common feature. Crosses of this form and size have been found in many places, and he has several. Fig. 207 is a smaller one of this form, from the Rose hill farm, east of Geneva, N. Y., and is of actual size. Though made for suspension, the broad base would allow a standing position. These are like the Canadian crosses mentioned above.

Fig. 203 shows one of several from the Onondaga reservation, belonging to the writer. They are smaller than the last, and of a slightly different form. The Indian owner had over a dozen of these, and they were common among western Indians. Fig. 201 is a cross of the same form in the collection of Mrs Converse, probably made from the same pattern, but with surface tracery. There were earlier double crucifixes of the same general form from which the merely ornamental cross may have been derived. There was a small ring for suspension, now usually lacking.

Fig. 212 is an ornamental double cross with several openings. All the limbs are foliated, and there is a ring for suspension. The general character is that of Mr Wyman's triple cross, but it is smaller. The writer had this from an Onondaga squaw, from whom a friend obtained its counterpart. The form seems rare, and both sides are ornamented.

Small silver Roman crosses seem much rarer, and none have been reported perfectly plain. Fig. 206 is of one with scalloped edges, from East Cayuga, a site occupied 150 years ago. Fig. 202 is of another which the writer bought of an Onondaga Indian in 1901.

Though nearly the same in size and design, they have not the same number of crenulations. Another was found at Portsmouth O., but they are everywhere rare.

Crosses and crucifixes of other materials

Silver articles, as a rule, were in little use by the New York Indians in the 17th century, but other materials naturally overlapped the introduction of these. Copper, brass and bronze were at first the favorites for ornament, but pewter or lead was used, and even iron had a place. Fig. 196 is a cross of lead from the McClure site in Hopewell, commonly known as *Onaghee*. Circular projections tip the three lower limbs, and it is probable that a similar one has been lost from the top, where the customary perforation would have weakened it. It is a good deal battered, but there seems to have been a human figure on its face.

Crucifixes have often been found on nearly all Iroquois sites of the last half of the 17th century. The coming of the Jesuit missionaries in 1654 marked a new era of this kind, though French and Huron captives may have brought some earlier, or they may have been among the spoils of war. Previous to that time most European articles came from the Dutch. Mr Clark noticed the finding of "a curious brass image" in Pompey, just before his history was published. He also said:

> A valuable cross of gold was several years ago found in the west part of Pompey, and was sold for $30. The significant I. H. S. was upon it. Numbers of crucifixes and crosses have been found. Brass crosses are frequently found, with those letters, and the initials of the Latin title put upon the cross at the crucifixion, I. N. R. I., and so are medals of the same metal. *Clark*, 2:273

After mentioning a brass dial plate and a paint box of the same metal, Mr Clark speaks of "another more perfect one beautifully wrought," as though meaning another box. His figure, however, is of the two sides of a crucifix, with a loop at the top and a fluted base. The obverse has Christ with extended arms, and a halo and I. N. R. I. above the head. Under the feet are the crossbones and skull. This side has a beaded border. On the reverse angels crown

the Virgin Mary, over whose head is the dove, and under her feet the skull and crossbones. *Clark*, 2:280. This is from the fort of 1696.

On adjoining lands, Mr Clark said, "brass crosses have frequently been plowed up, and some of the most perfect and highest finished ones have over the head of the Saviour the letters I. N. R. I. Most of the crosses found in other places have the letters I. H. S." *Clark*, 2:281. This was more than 50 years ago, and they are occasionally found yet, as well as on earlier sites.

A few representative early forms will be illustrated, and the reader will readily see the difference between these, with their many symbols, and the ornamental forms already described, in which these are lacking. Most of these are either of brass or lead.

Fig. 194 is the obverse of a fine brass crucifix belonging to the late Hon. George S. Conover of Geneva N. Y. He had several of these. This has a beaded border. Christ has his arms extended, a halo and I. N. R. I. are above his head, and the skull and crossbones beneath his feet. The reverse has the Virgin Mary with the moon beneath her feet, and the dove descending from above. On the arms on this side are the words IESVS MARIA. Mr Conover had this from a burial place on the Read farm, lot 32, town of Seneca. Mr Conover said: "As many as 50 crosses are known to have been found in this burial ground, and probably a great many more, as in former times, when the field was plowed, it was not an uncommon thing to find a number of crosses and other emblems with religious devices."

Fig. 217 is a fine brass crucifix from the Rose hill farm, east of Geneva N. Y., obtained by Dr W. G. Hinsdale. The obverse has Christ with the usual emblems, but with the head bent down. On the reverse are the Virgin and child, with emblems near the ends of the arms. The pointed top of this crucifix is perforated, and forms nearly a true pitch.

Fig. 214 is a brass crucifix from Cayuga county, having a beaded edge. The only emblems accompanying the figure of Christ are the halo and inscription above the head. The obverse of this is not recalled.

Fig. 195 is a brass crucifix obtained by Dr Hinsdale in Pompey. The head of Christ is bent unusually low, and the loop rises in a triangular form from the cross. Fig. 204 is a small crucifix from Pompey, the limbs ending in trefoils. Each of these includes a small circle, but the general design has become obscure through use. Fig. 211 is a beautiful brass cross with several perforations. The ends of all the arms are ornamented, and I. H. S. appears on the upper arm. Dr Hinsdale met with this in Pompey. It is an unusual form.

Fig. 213 is from a figure furnished by Dr Hinsdale of a curious bronze crucifix belonging to a boy in Pompey. It has two crossbars, and each limb is angularly expanded at the end. On the obverse the arms of Christ are extended on the upper limbs, I. N. R. I. appearing above his head. SALVATOR is on the lower crossbar, and MVNDI on the lower limb. On the reverse the Virgin occupies the center, with the sun above her head. MATER is on the lower crossbar, and DEI on the lower limb. With this was fig. 219, a fine but small brass crucifix with each arm terminating in trefoils, each of which incloses a human face. Christ and the inscription I. N. R. I. are on the obverse; the reverse has two angels crowning the Virgin Mary, and above her head is the sun.

Fig. 216 is from the Onondaga fort of 1696 and is much like fig. 213, having two crossbars and similar expansions at the ends of the arms. The design is somewhat obscure and no letters appear. Fig. 218 is from the same site. The figure of Christ is on the obverse as usual. The reverse shows the descending dove, the Virgin, and the angels on the crossbar.

Fig. 208 is a small cross from the Mohawk valley, figured by Mr S. L. Frey. The limbs terminate in trefoils, and there is some surface decoration, this being a mere ornament of comparatively recent days. It is of silver, and the loop at the top is broken. Fig. 215 is also one of Mr Frey's illustrations, but is an older article. Both sides are adorned with emblems, the obverse having I. N. R. I., the crown of thorns, nails and hammer, ladder, skull and crossbones; while the reverse has the heart in the center, the spears beneath, and other emblems on the limbs.

Fig. 210 is a brass crucifix from Munnsville, of a larger size and with more emblems, but with much the same arrangement. One end of the crossbar differs from the other.

Fig. 158 shows both sides of a thin brass crucifix found by Dr Hinsdale among the salt vats near the Ganentaha spring, the seat of the French mission house of 1656. It is of antique appearance, but in fine preservation, and the natural impulse is to connect it with this mission. The French inscription strengthens this. On comparison with recent memorials of modern religious missions, the writer is inclined to ascribe it to our own day. The obverse has Christ on an inscribed cross, and with the knees unusually drawn up. Each limb of the cross terminates in a trefoil outline, and these each include two or three small bosses on the obverse. The reverse is quite plain, and has SOUVENIR on the short, and DE MISSION on the long bar of the cross.

In the Hildburgh collection is a crucifix in which the lower limb but slightly exceeds the other three in length, these being alike in extent.

Mr Henry E. Kingman, of Owego, kindly sent an account of two brass crucifixes he found at that place in 1901, none occurring there before. One was perfect; the other broken at the base. The robed figure mentioned is the Virgin, and the general character like some before described. He said:

On one side is the Saviour crucified, with a skull and crossbones at the bottom. Above Christ's head are the letters I. H. S., but these letters are not distinguishable on the perfect cross. On the broken one they can readily be read. On the reverse is the Saviour in his robes, while above his head is a crown, and above the crown a dove. On either side of the head is a cherub. The crucifix is $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches long from the tip of the loop to the base, and $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch in width. The other crucifix is wider.

A fine but small brass crucifix is from Pompey, having an extreme length of $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches. It is foliated in a peculiar way. There are semicircular projections on each side of the limbs, but the intermediate projection is long, narrow and pointed. On the obverse is a figure of Christ with extended arms. The reverse has the Virgin, the angels and the dove. Fig. 381 is of this.

Mr Stanford, of Munnsville, has a cross of some size, with expanding arms, suggesting the Maltese cross, but with the proportions of the Roman. Crosses and crucifixes seem rarer on the Mohawk and Oneida sites than farther west. Those of Onondaga have been most prolific, but they are now everywhere rare as compared with those found by early settlers, and are valued accordingly.

Coins

The most common coins found on Iroquois sites and used for ornaments are the liards of the 17th century. The value is about half that of the English farthing. They were at first a silver coin, but in the reign of Louis 14 became restricted to copper. On the coin the date follows the inscription, and shows several issues. In numismatic records they are described as dated in 1656 and subsequently. On Indian sites they are perforated for attachment or suspension, and are often too much worn to make sure of the date; but in New York this seems always during Louis 14's reign. Those reported as having the date of 1650 may be safely referred to 1656, a slight erosion affecting the date. In Cayuga county 44 were found in a pewter mug, which had suffered only by early use. All were of the middle of the 17th century.

The obverse has a crowned bust, with the inscription in capitals: " L. XIIII, Roy. de. Fr. et. de. Na.;" reverse, " Liard de France," across the surface. On the lower part are three fleurs-de-lis, and above these a letter, showing at what place they were made, for there were several. A stood for Paris, B for Rouen, and examples of both these are found at Indian hill, Pompey.

In Onondaga county they seem restricted to the place first visited by the French in 1654, and where the Onondagas remained till 1682. There they often occur. Fig. 303 shows both sides of one found at that place, which has two perforations. Fig. 304 is another with but one hole. Fig. 297 is from the same site, and has R instead of Roy. This has two perforations.

The writer has since had in his hands liards from Pompey of the D and E issue, the former being from the Lyons mint.

A smaller coin has a head on the obverse, face to the left, with OVR. D. C. D., with the rest indistinct. Fig. 396 is of this. On the reverse are four fleurs-de-lis, the upper one above a castle tower. Part of the inscription is AN. 1639. DOVR. One better preserved is in Theodore Stanford's collection, appearing in fig. 397. On the obverse is the King's head. LOVS remains on one side, and FR. ET. NA. on the other. The reverse now barely suggests the lilies. The date is 1640; then comes a cross, and then the letters DOVR. DE. TOV. Both these are of copper, and they are slightly wider than our present cent. No coins of older date have been reported from New York Indian sites.

Honorary medals and gorgets

Though the Indians preferred substantial presents, they were not insensible to honorable distinctions. They thought powder and ball a better means of defense than the king's arms, but tokens of personal rank they valued. So that Robert Livingston made a shrewd suggestion on returning from Onondaga in 1700, when he recommended to Governor Bellomont:

> That his Ma^{tys} armes be sent to all the 5 Nations and put up on each Castle, and if your Lord^{p} thought fit, that some of their Chief Sachems had a badge or the King's armes cut in silver to hang about their necks upon solemn days, I presume it would be acceptable. *O'Callaghan*, 4:651

Whether this was at once done does not appear, but Queen Anne did not forget the wise suggestion. At his first conference with the Five Nations, in August 1710, Governor Hunter introduced a new feature. The queen had been greatly impressed by the visit of the New York Indians to London, and took a warm interest in her forest allies, regarded by her as subjects. On this occasion Governor Hunter said:

> Her Maj^{ty} has sent them as a pledge of her protection, and as a memoriall to them of their fidelity, a medall for each Nation with her Royall effigie on one side, & the last gain'd battle on ye other, which as such she desires may be kept in your respective Castles for ever, she has also sent her Picture on silver twenty to each nation

to be given to y^e^ Chief Warriors, to be worn about their necks as a token that they shall allwaies be in a readinesse to fight under her Banner against the common enemy. *O'Callaghan.* Col. Hist. 5:222

Very proud, doubtless, were these hundred warriors, but the custom begun by the English two centuries ago, and by the French still earlier, has come down to our own day.

In July 1721 the governor of Pennsylvania presented the Seneca chief *Ghesont* with a gold coronation medal of the king, charging him "to deliver this piece into the hands of the first man or greatest chief of the Five Nations, whom you call *Kanuygoodk*, to be laid up and kept" as a token of friendship between them. *Hazard.* Minutes, 3:130

Possibly the plate mentioned in Penhallow's *Indian Wars* was silver medals or badges. The Six Nations and Scaghticoke Indians were well received in Boston in 1723, and the lieutenant governor "gave each of them a piece of plate, with figures engraven thereon, as a turtle, a bear, a hatchet, a wolf, etc., which are the escutcheons of their several tribes. And the more to oblige them to our interest, they had a promise made of one hundred pounds a scalp, for every Indian that they killed or took." *Penhallow,* 1:101

In the *Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal* for January 1899, Mr R. W. McLachlan gave an account of medals awarded to Canadian Indians. In this are many interesting particulars, the author being a specialist in these, and putting many early notices in an accessible form. The following observation is of general interest:

Size was of great importance to the red man, who was no admirer of miniature medals. Some were struck exceeding three inches in diameter. These were for the great chiefs, for there were smaller medals for lesser lights. . . While we may be inclined to believe that more minor than great medals were distributed, as there could not help but be more lesser than "Great Chiefs," this fact is not borne out by the number of existing medals; the larger medals are by far the more abundant. This may, in a measure, be accounted for by the fact that the minor chiefs more readily parted with their medals; and that, too, at a time when there were few collectors in the country to secure and hand them down to posterity, while the great chiefs' medals passed from father to son as an insignia of office. . . Old silversmiths relate that, as late as 60 years ago,

the Indians used to bring in their medals to have them made over into gorgets and armlets. *McLachlan*, 2:4

Mr McLachlan quotes the earliest mention of medals in Canada, in 1670-71, from volume 4 of the *Archives* of that country:

A savage of the Sault, (Caughnawaga), named Louis Atouata, godson of the King, who preserves as a precious thing the medal of which his Majesty made a present to him.

A medal was struck about 1670, for the friendly Indians of Virginia, but had no relation to New York, while most French medals came there at one time or another.

Mr McLachlan also describes a medal of 1693, in five sizes. The obverse has "the head of Louis 14, with flowing hair, and on the reverse those of his son the dauphin and the three sons of the latter." But one original is known, but restrikes have been made. This writer also quotes an account of medals used in Canada in 1723, and placed after death on the biers of Indian chiefs.

In another paper in the *Proceedings of the American Numismatical and Archaeological Society* of New York, 1883, p. 17-20, he gave two quotations not found in O'Callaghan's New York colonial documents. Governor Vaudreuil wrote thus Sep. 21, 1722:

I have received the letter with which the council has honored me, and the twelve medals bearing the portrait of the King; eight small and four large. I have continued to be careful not to be too lavish with this favor among the Indians, and to give them only to those who by their services to the nation deserve them, and to those whom I desire to bind to our interest by this mark of honor.

The reference is to an established custom. He quotes also from Beauharnois under date of Aug. 25, 1727:

Since the death of M. de Vaudreuil, the Rev. Father Jesuits have not asked medals for the chiefs of the settled Indians, for whom it was customary for them to ask some. The Rev. Father de la Chasse, to whom the Marquis de la Vaudreuil had given one, tells me it is absolutely necessary to provide some more. I have received proof of this. The Indians from above, when they come down to Montreal, would not relieve me from promising them to several who have served us well among their tribes. I pray you to enable me to satisfy these savages, and to send me a dozen small medals and six large ones.

On the same subject Governor Beauharnois wrote again, Oct. 15, 1732, to the Count de Maurepas:

I thank you, My Lord, for the twelve medals you had the goodness to send me for the Indians. His Majesty may be assured that I will make the most of them, and that I shall not distribute them except to Chiefs, whose services and attachment to the French will be known to me. As there are many such to whom I have promised such a token of honor, and as the adventure of our Iroquois and Hurons against the Foxes places me under the obligation of giving a few to the principal Chiefs of the expedition, I beg you, My Lord, to order that some be sent me next year, so that I may be enabled to invest them with this mark of honor, which also renders them more respectable among their people. *O'Callaghan.* Col. Hist. 9:1036

Sir William Johnson gave "three silver gorgets to three of the principal warriors" of the Ganuskago Indians, at Fort Johnson, Feb. 26, 1756. At the same place, July 12, he "put medals round the necks of the Shawanese and Delaware chiefs, and also to the chief Sachem of the River Indians, accompanied with the usual exhortation, also gave silver Gorgets to some of their head Warriors." *O'Callaghan.* Col. Hist. 7:160

He held a council at Onondaga lake that year. When the Onondaga speaker had concluded his address, July 2, "Sir William then rose and put a medal about the Speaker's neck and declared him a Sachem of that Council, charging him to be steady to his Majesty's interest." *O'Callaghan.* Col. Hist. 7:149

To take off the medal was to renounce friendship or allegiance, and this the French encouraged when English medals were worn. A Seneca chief, who wore an English medal in 1775, said to Governor Vaudreuil: "I tear off the medal of the King of England, which hangs from my neck and trample it under foot." *O'Callaghan.* Col. Hist. 10:378

The year before, the La Presentation Indians had sent to M. Duquesne "the medals the English had presented to some of that village who had furtively assisted at the Council at Orange." *O'Callaghan.* Col. Hist. 10:263

Two Iroquois chiefs gave up their English medals to Vaudreuil in Aug. 1756. Of another he said: "I have appointed this Onon-

daga a chief, and have decorated him with the King's medal, in consideration of the proofs he has afforded me of his fidelity," the Onondagas being then almost equally divided. In December of that discouraging year to the English, an Oneida chief gave up two English medals to the French, saying:

Father. We can not retain two medals which we have formerly had the folly to accept from our brethren, the English, as a mark of distinction. We acknowledge that these medals have been the true cause of our errors, and that they have plunged us into bad business. We strip ourselves of them; we cast them from us, in order not to think any more of the English. *O'Callaghan.* Col. Hist. 10:513

The gorgets are not usually described, but many were given to the Five Nations and Delawares. The following description, given to the French in 1758, seems that of a well known medal:

The Governor of Philadelphia has held a great council with them, at which he has distributed a great quantity of belts, calumets of peace, and more than 40 silver gorgets. A chief of the Five Nations has carried to the Commandant of Niagara one of those gorgets on which was engraved a Sun, with an Indian and a Squaw feeding a fire, and an Indian smoking a great calumet with an Englishman under the shade of the tree of peace. *O'Callaghan.* Col. Hist. 10:839

An affecting incident took place soon after Sir William Johnson's death. Some Onondagas were at Johnson Hall, Sep. 12, 1774, and the Bunt's eldest son produced the various marks of the baronet's regard.

Then (according to the old custom after such an event) he laid them down consisting of a silver hilted sword, laced hat, medals, flags, &c. before Col. Johnson, observing that his dear friend, being now no more, these things must be restored to Col. Johnson for his disposal. Then a noted Chief and particular friend of Sir Wm Johnson's arose, took off his medal &c. and did in like manner as the former, as did some others. . . Then Col. Johnson put the medals &c. about their necks and returned the several articles they had surrendered. *O'Callaghan.* Col. Hist. 8:498

A similar thing occurred at the Canandaigua conference, held by Col. Pickering in 1794. There was a condolence at the opening. Red Jacket said they returned gifts to the donors when any one died,

and he returned to the commissioners a silver gorget which had belonged to a dead chief, and which had been given him by the United States.

These were not considered equal in value to medals. In 1741 the Marquis de Beauharnois invested an Iroquois chief of the Sault with a gorget, till he could give him a medal as a mark of rank, but all medals had not this character.

The finest of the English silver medals which the writer has seen belonged to Mr John Jones, of Baldwinsville N. Y. It came to him as an heirloom, and was said to have been from the body of an Indian chief. The history is not very clear. Though it has been roughly handled by children, it is in good preservation, owing to the deep border and high relief. On one side is the British coat of arms, with the usual mottos. On the other is a fine head of George 2, facing the left. The inscription around the border is GEORGIVS. II. D: G: MAG: BRI: FRA: ET. H: REX. F:D. in roman capitals. As this monarch reigned from 1727 to 1760, the medal would come between these dates, and probably during the old French war. It is $1\frac{5}{8}$ inches across, and is quite heavy. Fig. 280 shows the obverse of this.

In *American Colonial History illustrated by Contemporaneous Medals*, this issue is described:

Obverse: GEORGIVS II. D. G: MAG: BRI: FRA: ET: H: REX: F. D. Bust of the King, laureate, facing the left, without drapery. *Reverse*. The Royal Arms within the Garter and with supporters, helmet, crown and crest; upon the Garter, DIEU. ET. MON. DROIT. Silver, cast and chased, with loop and ring. Size 30. *Betts*, p. 177

The medal here represented accurately corresponds with this description, and must be considered one of this issue. American medalists are of the opinion that these are the 30 brought to New York by Sir Danvers Osborne in 1753, for distribution to the Indians, reference to which is made in a following paragraph. Everything agrees with the family tradition.

There is another familiar Indian medal of an earlier date, and about the size of a silver dollar, which has been found in New York. It will be observed that Indian medals not found here, or which

have no connection with New York, are not illustrated in this paper. Several colonial and Canadian medals are thus passed over.

The medal just referred to was found when the Erie canal at Oriskany was enlarged in 1849. Some graves were opened, containing 10 or 12 skeletons, with ornaments and medals. On one was a head of George I, with the title, George, king of Great Britain, in capitals. On the reverse was an Indian behind a tree, with bow and arrow, shooting at a deer. This part of the account is clear, but some other statements are erroneous. For instance, a medal of George I is said to have been dated in 1731. The other medals were dated from 1731 to 1735. Some of the later Georges used the same design.

Besides one of these medals from the lower Mohawk valley, somewhat indefinitely reported, Mr Conover described one from the Read farm in Seneca, which was taken from the Indian cemetery there, and from which he deduced its age. He described it as "a copper or brass medal of about 1½ inches in diameter. On one side of this medal was the representation of an Indian with a bow and arrow in the act of shooting at a deer, a tree being between them, and the rays of the rising sun being alongside of the top of the tree. On the reverse was a medallion likeness, and around it and near the edge of the circumference the words, George, king of Great Britain. As the reign of George I was from 1714 to 1727, and such tokens were only presented to those Indians who were of importance among their own people," and this could not be secured in youth, he inferred that it must have been given to an old man who was buried with it in the first half of that century. As the medal might have been preserved in the family, the conclusion does not follow as to the date of the cemetery, as Mr Conover's farther statement shows:

> There has also been lately found what at first seemed a small lead bullet, which had been flattened, but, upon its being cleaned from the dirt and corrosion, it proved to be a leaden seal, such as was used in colonial times, and which had the date of 1767 cut on its face.

In the above account Mr Conover should have said the obverse had the head of the king, but this is a mere technicality. In the

series of newspaper articles by him, from which this is quoted, he recorded many things worthy of preservation. A careful and judicious writer, he did much excellent local work.

One of these figures of medals appears in Miner's *History of Wyoming* from an example found on the Susquehanna in 1814, and now said to be in a collection at Carbondale Pa. Fig. 289 is from his picture of this, but, though he said it bore the date of 1714, this does not appear. In that year George 1 began to reign. Mr McLachlan writes:

In 1859 two medals were turned up among other Indian remains, on the banks of the Ohio river. The older of these has on the obverse the head of George 1, and the other the head of George 2. The reverses of both have a representation of an Indian aiming at a deer.

More of this class of medals have been found in Pennsylvania and Virginia than elsewhere, and they are divided into these two reigns. As all may occur in New York, a brief description of some of these is given. They are of brass.

One like the medal described by Miner, but smaller and found in Virginia, is now in Wilkesbarre. Another, found at Tunkhannock Pa., has a large Indian throwing a spear at a small deer on the left. This is quite thick. Another Virginia example has on the obverse a laureated head of George 1 facing the left. The inscription is Georgius—Mag. Bri: Fra. et. Hib. Rex. in capitals. Reverse: Indian at right, nearly erect, bending forward under a tree which follows the curve of the rim, holding a bow, etc. A running deer under a tree at the left. *Betts*, p. 83

Another Pennsylvania specimen has the king's laureated bust to the left, in armor. The inscription is Georgius II. D. G: Mag. Br. Fr. et. Hib. Rex. in capitals. Reverse: Indian at right under a tree, shooting at a deer running away under a tree at the right. *Betts*, p. 84

This should probably be the left, as in the other cases, for the reported arrangement would not suit the requirements. In another medal it is possible the spear described may have come from a wearing away of the bow, changing the appearance. As no figures have been given, the descriptions are followed.

In a letter to the writer Mr McLachlan says:

Another medal for the Indians is referred to in an article in the *Historical Magazine* for September 1865, page 285, which states that "Sir Danvers Osborne, after he had been appointed Governor of New York in 1753, brought out, among other presents for the Six Nation Indians, 30 silver medals, his majesty's picture on one side, and the royal arms on the other. . . These medals seem to have disappeared, possibly a stray one may be found in some collection."

Sir Danvers Osborne died two days after his installation in office, and there is no reference to these medals in the succeeding Indian councils. The Baldwinsville medal is one of those described. A remarkably fine bronze medal found in the Onondaga valley in 1893, between the old Indian fort and the present reservation, has no reference to the Indians and yet may have belonged to one of them. It is finely executed, and was found by Mr George Slocum, in whose hands it still remains. Fig. 311 shows the obverse and fig. 312 the reverse.

On the obverse is a fine bust of the duke of Cumberland, with the legend in capitals around the edge, WILL: DUKE: CUMB: BRITISH: HERO. The other inscriptions are in capitals. Under the bust and following the rim is a scroll inclosing the words "BORN 15 APR. 1721." Next the rim, on the reverse, are the words, "REBELION JUSTLY REWARDED:" and under a group, in two straight lines, is the continuation "| AT CARLILE | ANNO 1745. |" A bareheaded officer leads forth two prisoners on the left; one of them a Scotchman with a rope around his neck; the mounted duke points with his sword to the right, as though ordering them to execution. This is not mentioned among the war medals of the British Museum.

A very interesting series of medals was designed expressly for Indian use, but the exact date is in question. An unused example is figured in the *Medaillier du Canada*, or Canadian Coin Cabinet, published at Montreal in 1888 by Joseph Leroux M. D. The brief description follows: "837. Obv.: View of the City of Montreal. MONTREAL. D. C. F. Rev.: Plain, in order to write the name of the Indian chief to whom the medal was awarded. Size 32, rarity 8."

This retains the ring in the loop above, but this is commonly lacking. On the obverse the city is represented with houses, church spires and the British flag, and has lines of defense between it and the water. A small cartouche below incloses the letters D. C. F. The reverse is perfectly smooth in this case. In others the Indian's name is in script above, following the rim. The name of the nation is in capitals, in a straight line across the center.

As Mr McLachlan has given special attention to these medals, some quotations are here made from his letters to the writer in 1891. He differs from the latter regarding the date, connecting them with Sir William Johnson's western trip in 1761. He says:

He is at Oswego, ready to sail on July 21, 1761: "Got everything on board the vessel, then met the Onondaga chiefs. When assembled, I bid them welcome. . . Then delivered the medals sent me by the General for those who went with us to Canada last year, being twenty-three in number." The taking of Montreal was almost the only engagement in which the New England Algonquin tribes acted with the Iroquois. Montreal was invested, at the conquest, by an army in which the Indians under Sir William Johnson took a prominent part, and there is no reason why the view of Montreal should have been used for any other occasion than the conquest.

In regard to other points, he adds that in his opinion an actual instead of conventional view of Montreal would have been given when better known:

The D. C. F. is a stamp such as jewelers use to stamp their plate. It has been stamped on after the medal was cast. That the name of the tribe should be spelled differently from Sir William Johnson does not matter, for the item states that they were ordered by the General, probably Amherst. He therefore would adopt his own spelling. Medals given after the Revolution bear the head of George 3 and the royal arms.

In a letter of June 4, 1902, Mr McLachlan maintains his position and adds:

I have claimed that the medal was made in New York. This is borne out by the medal described by Betts, page 227, which bears the same maker's mark. The medal is too crude in workmanship to be of English manufacture. The New York Indian medal clearly

proves that the maker was not a Canadian. Hence the medal could not have been revolutionary. As is well known in history, the bulk of the Indians that came to Montreal were from Michigan and other western districts, while those who were at the capitulation of Montreal were Mohicans and Iroquois. We find none of the Montreal medals among the tribes that were under the French influence previous to the conquest. All I have seen or heard about bear the tribal names, Mohicans, Mohawks and Onondagas. This to me is a most convincing argument. These three tribes would not have been singled out to the exclusion of the great numbers of the western tribes. Another strong proof is that we have no other medal that could have been distributed in 1761 by Sir William Johnson, as described in the entry in his diary. Then the inscription scratched on my medal must be counted of some value as evidence.

All of Mr McLachlan's arguments have been stated, and due weight should be given to them and to the rank of their author, from whom the writer is compelled to differ, though with some hesitation. I do not find it proved that these medals were made in New York and not in Montreal. Some of the best silversmiths were in the latter place at both dates mentioned. If they were made in New York, it must be remembered that that city was in British hands through nearly the whole of the revolutionary war, and was in constant communication with Quebec and Montreal. There are two medals directly relating to the conquest of Canada and the taking of Montreal, which Johnson might have used. The inscription scratched on Mr McLachlan's medal is clearly erroneous in date, as will appear later. The omission of western tribes on the medals found is no more singular than the omission of four of the Six Nations. It is negative evidence at best. Thus, while it would be unwise to say that the true date is not that of 1761, there is but a presumption in favor of that date.

Some reasons against it will appear in the descriptions of these and other medals, but others may be briefly stated here.

Conventional views of cities were then customary, as may be seen on old powderhorns and seals; Montreal was the seat of the Indian agency during the Revolution and the headquarters of warlike operations; the spelling of Onondagos is that of Col. Claus, the agent, and not that of Johnson; the River Indians were constantly employed by

the British government, had villages in the Mohawk territory, and virtually belonged to that people. In the Revolution 60 of them are said to have fought on the English side. It is improbable that Johnson had 23 medals with names and nations inscribed, for distribution at Oswego. They would have had a general character, whereas these were filled out from time to time for personal services. Some, held in reserve, were never engraved. Lastly, some of these names correspond with those of chiefs attached to early land treaties with the State of New York.

In 1761 Johnson also had similar medals for the Oneidas, but none of these have been found. He was at Oneida Old Castle, July 16, and said:

I then acquainted them that General Amherst had sent me, some time ago, medals for such persons as went to Canada with the army last year, which I was now ready to deliver, were the persons here to whom they belonged. As they were not, must keep them till I had an opportunity of delivering them myself, that no mistake might be committed. *Stone.* Johnson, 2:432

Mr J. V. H. Clark described one several times examined by the writer:

A silver medal was found near Eagle village, about the size of a dollar, but a little thinner, with a ring or loop at one edge, to admit a cord by which it might be suspended. On one side appears in relief, a somewhat rude representation of a fortified town, with several tall steeples rising above its buildings, and a citadel from which the British flag is flying; a river broken by an island or two, occupies the foreground, and above, along the upper edge of the medal, is the name Montreal. The initials, D. C. F., probably of the manufacturer, are stamped below. On the other side, which was originally made blank, are engraved the words CANECYA, Onondagoes. . . There is no date on this or any other of the medals. But this must be at least older than the Revolution. *Clark*, 2:274

This should be *Caneiya* in script and Onondagos in capitals. Fig. 281 shows this medal as drawn by the writer at Mr L. W. Ledyard's, Cazenovia N. Y. in 1882. It was in his possession for many years. If of revolutionary date, as the writer thinks probable, the *Caneiya* of the medal might correspond with the Onondaga chief *Kaneyaagh*, of the treaty of 1788.

Mr McLachlan kindly furnished figures of some medals. Fig. 282 shows one of these, and his description follows:

Obverse, Montreal; in the exergue, DCF stamped in a sunk oval. A view of a walled town with a body of water in the foreground, into which a small stream flows. There are five church spires ranged along the middle of the town, and a flag displaying St George's cross to the right. Reverse. Plain; Onondagos is engraved in capitals across the field, and the name Tekahonwaghse in script at the top. Some one has, at a later time, scratched across the lower part with a sharp pointed instrument, in three lines, | Taken from an Indian | cheif in the AMERICAN | WAR. 1761.|

Mr Betts also illustrated and described this medal.

In the addition there is an evident error for there was no war in that year, but, if it were 1781, it would correspond with the *American* war, as the English termed that of the Revolution. Allowing this date, *Tekahonwaghse* might be *Takanaghkwaghsen*, an Onondaga chief who signed the treaty of 1788, or *Tagonaghquaghse*, appointed chief warrior of that nation in 1770, and perhaps the chief of 1788. Mr McLachlan had this medal from the Bushnell collection. He added, "I know of another in the collection of James Ollier of New York. I am under the impression that it is also in silver, and that it bears the name Onondagos." No account could be obtained of this.

Fig. 283 is a similar silver medal, bought by Mr McLachlan in London. On the reverse this has Mohawks in the field, and *Aruntes* above. It is in extra fine condition. This name does not appear among the many on record in the French war, nor is there any resembling it, but "The Answer of Thayendanegea a Sachem, and of Ohrante a warrior of the Mohocks to the Right Hon^ble^ Lord George Germaine", London, May 7, 1776, is preserved in full. *O'Callaghan.* Col. Hist. 8:678

Those familiar with the great variations in spelling Indian names, and the rank of this person, will have little doubt that Ohrante and Aruntes are the same. It is a curious coincidence that this well preserved medal was obtained in London, where Ohrante spent some months. In another place the Mohawk warrior is called Oterough-yanento, Indians often having two names. In the writer's exhaustive list of Iroquois personal names this nowhere else appears, but it is an unexpected gratification to link the three Iroquois names ob-

tained on these medals with well known persons of the revolutionary period.

Concerning these two Mohawks, Guy Johnson wrote in London. Jan. 26, 1776: "The Indian Chief who accompanied me, with his companion, are persons of character and influence in their country; they can more at large speak on any matters that may be required of them." *O'Callaghan.* Col. Hist. 8:657

Fig. 284 is another medal of which Mr McLachlan says:

It is in the government collection at Ottawa, and came from the collection of Mr I. F. Wood of New York. This is in pewter, and has Mohicrans in the field, either misspelled in the copy or the original. Above is *Tantalkel.* Judging from the medal given to *Tantalkel* of the Mohicans, we infer that his services could not have been valued so highly as those of the Onondaga warrior, for his reward is in the baser metal. How one of that tribe came to receive a medal is explained when we learn that 70 River Indians accompanied Johnson to Montreal.

Another Mohican fared better. The *Albany Argus,* Sep. 27, 1875, described a silver medal found by Mr Kelly of Ballston Spa N. Y. The obverse was as usual. On the reverse, as reported, was Mohicans in capitals, and *Son Gosc* in script. Mr Joseph E. Wescot purchased it of the finder, and sold it in 1902 to Mr E. Hallenbeck, 749 Liberty st., Schenectady. Through the kindness of the latter, the writer is not only able to give an accurate figure, but to settle the spelling of a word in doubt. It is Mohigrans, the engraver having mistaken in his orders G for C, and R for K. It was easy to do this. The Indian's name is also *Songosc.* This medal was found on the Kelly place, near the bank of the Mourning kill and the old Canadian trail. It is somewhat worn, but in good condition. It is remarkable that so many have the name of this nation. Fig. 388.

In the work of C. Wyllys Betts, already mentioned, he speaks of another Mohican silver medal, on the reverse of which was *Madoghk,* with the nation's name engraved in the usual way. He also takes note of the doubtful spelling, now cleared up by the writer's examination of the Hallenbeck medal. The error was made in all.

The Mohicans became so closely linked with the Mohawks as to share their fortunes and that of the Johnson family. Some of

them are mentioned in the raids in the Mohawk valley. The medals can hardly be referred to Burgoyne's luckless campaign, for each was engraved for a particular person, nor were the Onondagas yet in the field. None known bear the Oneida name, a significant fact, for they were on the American side. Nor were they among Butler's presents in the winter of 1777-78, who gave "in particular 300 of Burgoyne's silver medals to their young warriors." *Halsey*, p. 204. They are not all of silver.

In a description of American medals of the Revolution by J. T. Fisher of Philadelphia, *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, vol. 6 of 3d series, is one of these medals, but without place or name of Indian, and with another misspelling: "Medal—probably for distribution among the Indians. *Obverse*, A view of Montreal, and above it the name MONTREAL. *Reverse*, The name MOHIGHANS."

In *Le Medaillier du Canada* is a figure of the French Oswego medal of 1758. A better one is given by Mr Betts. As medals were very freely distributed about that time, some of these may have been placed in Indian hands, though of this there is no proof. It is nearly 1¼ inches wide. All the letters are capitals. "Avers: Bust to the right. LUDOVICUS XV. ORBIS IMPERATOR. 1758. Rev.: Four towers. Wesel, Oswego, Port Mahon, Expug, Sti Davidis arce et solo aequata." *Leroux*, p. 177

Leroux assigns a number to Indian use, but some are later than the colonial period. One has George 3 and Queen Charlotte face to face. Another may be like the fine one recently obtained from the Ottawas by Walter C. Wyman. This has a bust of George 3 to the right, and the arms of Great Britain on the reverse. There are several of this character to be mentioned later.

Mr McLachlan discredits Stone's statement that the medals of 1761, "by order of Amherst, were stamped upon one side with the baronet's coat of arms," nor does there seem any direct proof of this. He adds:

I have in my collection 10 or 12 medals relating to the Indians. One of these represents a lion watching a wolf, with a church and schoolhouse surrounded by trees in the background. This, to my

mind, relates to the conspiracy of Pontiac. French medals are now very rare; only one or two are known. After the conquest the Indians had to give them up, or exchange them for medals bearing the bust of George 3. I think it was not customary to strike medals specially for the occasion, but to give the Indians copies of some popular medal of the time; later medals bearing the arms of Great Britain, with only the name and title of the king on the obverse, for inscription. Such are all the medals of George 3, with the single exception of the lion and the wolf.

The one last mentioned has a fine bust of this monarch as a young man in armor. The inscription is simply GEORGIUS III. DEI GRATIA. There is nothing suggestive of Indian life on the medal, and Mr McLachlan merely gives it as his opinion that it referred to the Pontiac war. He states, however, that this was struck as a peace medal for a conference with the Indians at Niagara in 1764, followed by the treaty of 1765. He adds:

One of these medals, found in the grave of *Otussa* (Pontiac's son) is now in the cabinet of the United States mint at Philadelphia. A considerable number of these medals must have been struck, as two reverse dies were used. The two varieties were found in 1889 buried in one grave in Michigan. *McLachlan*, 2:14

The reverse of this large silver medal has no legend. A lion lies on the turf in the foreground, a wolf drinks at a stream, a church and house are in the background. Without an Indian symbol its Indian use seems clear. Three others of this monarch's reign are ascribed to 1762 and 1764, and two of these refer to New York. Medalists suppose them to have been struck for Canadian chiefs at the close of the French war. They are quite as likely to have been given to New York Indians, and there is no reference to Canada, as on some of earlier date.

The one ascribed to 1762 has the youthful bust of George 3 in armor, and the British arms on the reverse. One of 1764 has his bust in armor to the right, with the inscription, GEORGIUS III. D. G. M. BRI. FRA. ET. HIB. REX. F. D. On the reverse, "Happy while united," in capitals. In exergue, 1764. Indian holding a pipe, seated near an officer on a roll of tobacco. Background, city and harbor of New York. *Betts*, p. 226

Another has the same obverse, and the same date and legend on the reverse. An officer is in the foreground of the landscape, and an Indian is seated in a rustic chair on a river bank, on the right. On a rocky bank is a house, and there are three ships beyond. *Betts*, p. 227

Some medals of George 2 are of special interest. War had not prospered. Pennsylvania had suffered severely, but in 1757 a preliminary treaty was made with the Delawares and Shawnees. The Six Nations were balancing between the English and French, and great efforts were put forth for their support. So a medal was prepared in 1757, appropriate to the times. On the obverse is a laureated bust of George 2 in armor, with the inscription, GEORGIVS. II. DEI. GRATIA. On the reverse is the legend, in capitals, "Let us look to the Most High, who blessed our fathers with peace." In exergue, 1757. The field has a man seated under a tree on the right, offering a calumet to an Indian seated on the other side of a council fire. The sun is above the Indian on the left. This medal occurs in silver, copper and pewter, and is supposed to be the first struck in America. It was made for the Friendly Association for regaining and preserving peace with the Indians. *Betts*, p. 179. This is the one mentioned in the Canadian documents.

Two, relating to the conquest of Canada and the capture of Montreal, seem more likely to have been those given by Johnson to the Indians in 1761 than those which Mr McLachlan assigns to that period, as they were issued in time and relate to that event. One has a laureated head of the monarch, with the inscription, GEORGE II. KING. On the reverse is the legend, CANADA SUBDUED. In exergue, MDCCLX. S. P. A. C. A pine tree rises in the center, under which is a weeping woman seated on the ground. On the left a beaver crawls up the bank. *Betts*, p. 192

Another, issued by the same society, has points of resemblance and is of the same date. On the obverse is a river god reclining, with a bow, quiver and ax below him. A beaver climbs up the bank, and overhead is a shield with Amherst's name. The legend in capitals is. "The conquest of Canada completed." The reverse

has a mourning woman seated under a tree. To the left is an eagle, and to the right an ax, etc. The legend is, "Montreal taken MDCCLX." In exergue, "Soc. promoting arts and commerce." *Leroux*, p. 166. As these have Indian symbols, and one of them Amherst's name and that of Montreal, they seem to suit in every way Johnson's lavish distribution of medals at Oswego, when sent him by his leader.

Red Jacket's medal has been made the subject of controversy. Fig. 411 is taken from an article in *Harper's Magazine*, 1866, in which its history is given. A note says:

It is said that there are in existence other medals, each purporting to be the genuine Red Jacket medal. Possibly copies of it may have been made when it was at one time or another in pawn in the hands of those to whom Red Jacket had pledged it for whisky. But none of these copies were ever owned by Red Jacket himself. The original medal, from which our drawing was made, is, as we write, open to public inspection at the jewelry establishment of Messrs Browne and Spaulding, in Broadway, New York, by whom, with the assent of the owner, it was placed at our disposal for illustration. We have in our possession the most abundant proof that it is the genuine, and only genuine, medal presented by Washington to Red Jacket. *Harper's*, 32:324

It then belonged to General Ely S. Parker, a Seneca chief. In 1890 a medal was presented to the Red Jacket Club of Canandaigua, as having belonged to that chief. Mr William C. Bryant, of Buffalo, wrote to Hon. George S. Conover on the subject, in the following words:

Buffalo, Feb. 3, 1891

Friend Conover: There is no rational ground for doubt that the medal worn by General Parker is the one presented by President Washington to Red Jacket. This medal was a familiar object to all Buffalo residents while the old chief lived; and, after his death in 1830, it was well known that it descended to, or became the property of Jemmie Johnson, Red Jacket's nephew and the successor of Handsome Lake, the great Iroquois prophet. Soon afterward, and shortly before Johnson's death, it became the property or possession of General Parker, its present owner. In 1851 or 1852, when a boy, I visited Jemmie Johnson at his cabin, and he exhibited the medal to me.

It should be remembered that the Red Jacket medal is not a unique article, but one of many which were stricken off by the

government when Red Jacket was alive, for presentation to distinguished chiefs of the Iroquois Confederacy. There are, perhaps, two or three specimens similar in appearance to the Red Jacket medal still extant. Probably the one presented to the Red Jacket Club of Canandaigua is one of this class of medals, contemporaneous with that of Red Jacket. That it was ever worn by the old chief is not probable. Sa-go-ye-wa-tha had only one medal, and of this he was very fond and proud. During his career he owned several tomahawks and gave away at least two of them, whose subsequent history can still be traced; but he seemed to cling to this medal as if it were a most precious heirloom or sacred amulet.

I was present at the Six Nations mourning council, when General Parker was invested with the title of Door Keeper *(Don-e-ho-ga-wa)*, one of the 50 grand sachemships of the Confederacy. This was, I think, in 1850. He then wore the Red Jacket medal, and in open council it was exhibited to many of Red Jacket's compeers, none of whom doubted its authenticity.

To this Mr Conover added:

A few years since the Cayuga Indians residing in Canada employed an attorney in Buffalo to urge a claim against the State for a portion of the annuity paid by the State to the Cayugas in the United States, they having been deprived of the same since the War of 1812. Among other matters put in the hands of this attorney was a silver medal, a facsimile of which is to be found in the printed law case. This medal is of the same size, and substantially the same as the Parker medal, having the same inscription on one side, viz, " George Washington, President, 1792." This medal is claimed to have been presented to *O-ja-geht-ti*, or Fish Carrier, at that time the head chief of the Cayuga Indians, and has been in the possession of every successor in office, who has been uniformly styled by the same name from that day to the time of the present Fish Carrier. The medal presented to the Red Jacket Club at Canandaigua, I understand, is about one third smaller in size than either of the two above named.

Mr L. H. Morgan says of these:

The government has long been in the habit of presenting silver medals to the chiefs of the various Indian tribes at the formation of treaties, and on the occasion of their visits to the seat of government. These medals are held in the highest estimation. Red Jacket, Corn Planter, Farmer's Brother and several other distinguished Seneca chiefs have received medals of this description. Washington presented a medal to Red Jacket in 1792. It is an elliptic plate of silver, surrounded by a rim, as represented in the

figure, and is about 6 inches in its greatest diameter. On each side it is engraved with various devices. The medal is now worn by *Sose-há-wa*, (Johnson) a Seneca chief. Medals of seashell, inlaid with silver, were also used. *Morgan*, p. 388

At the reinterment of Red Jacket in 1884, Gen. Parker exhibited this medal. " It is of silver, oval in shape, 7 inches long by 5 inches broad. The general had dressed it in black and white wampum; the black indicating mourning and the white peace and gladness." The above long diameter includes the loop.

A copy of this medal is now in the National Museum, Washington, and data obtained thence made a difference in date and size:

The original of Red Jacket's medal is engraved. It is oval, 5¾ by 4 inches. It was presented by President George Washington, in 1795, to the Indian Red Jacket, who, with a number of chiefs of the Six Nations, visited Philadelphia, then the seat of government, at the invitation of the first president. Obverse: figure of Red Jacket presenting to General Washington the pipe of peace. In the background a man plowing and a pioneer cabin; beneath, the inscription " George Washington, President, 1795." Left field, a pine tree. Reverse: the American eagle, with clouds and rays above and 13 stars below; in beak a scroll, with " E Pluribus Unum."

Mr J. V. H. Clark described a brass medal found near Indian hill, Pompey, in 1821:

It was without date, on one side of it was a figure of Louis 14, king of France and Navarre. On the reverse side was represented a field, with three flowers-de-luce, supporting a royal crown, surrounded by the name of Nalf Lanfar & Co. It was about the size of a Spanish pistareen, had been compressed between dies, characters and letters distinct. *Clark*, 2:255 -

On a neighboring site a brass medal was found, on which was a horseman with drawn sword. On the other was " William, Prince of Orange ", with a crest or coat of arms; the date was obliterated. William, Prince of Orange flourished in 1689, and was conspicuous in the affairs of New York for several years previous. This medal may have been a present by him to some distinguished chief. *Clark*, 2:258

That medals and coins should be sometimes found near the old colonial forts is to be expected, but they have seldom been reported, and have no necessary connection with Indian life. A fine gold

piece found near Fort Brewerton, and bearing the arms of the duke of Brunswick, has been shown the writer. From the same place came a copper medal, 1½ inches in diameter, having an erect woman, with shield and cornucopia on the obverse, and the legend, "Honor obtain'd through virtue," on the reverse. It is some years since the writer has seen this, but he has the impression that it was once a familiar form, as far as the obverse is concerned.

Religious medals

A much larger class of medals was of a religious character, usually of small size and varied forms. Mr Clark described a large one:

In July 1840 was found, on the farm of Mr William Campbell, by his son, on lot number three, La Fayette, a silver medal, about the size of a dollar, and nearly as thick. On one side is a device, surmounted by an angel on the wing, stretching forward with its left hand, looking down upon those below with a resolute, determined and commanding countenance. Far in the background is a lofty ridge of mountains. Just beneath and away in the distance, is seen an Indian village or town, towards which the angel is steadily and earnestly pointing. Above this overhangs a slight curtain of cloud or smoke. Between the village and the mountain are scattering trees, as if an opening had just been made in the forest; nearer are seen various wild animals sporting gayly. In bolder relief are seen Europeans, in the costume of priests and pilgrims, with staves, exhibiting by their gestures and countenances, hilarity, gladness and joy, winding their way up the general ascent towards the mountain, decreasing in size from the place of departure, till lost from view. Among them are wheel carriages and domestic animals, intermixed. On the right is a fair representation of a cottage, and a spacious commercial warehouse, against which are leaning sheaves of grain. The whole is surrounded by the following inscription in Dutch: GEHE AUS DEINEM VATTER LAND, 1 b. M., XII., V. 1, and at the bottom across, LASST HIER DIEGVTER. On the opposite side there is a figure of the sun shining in meridian splendor, casting its noontide rays over a civilized town, represented by churches, stores, dwellings, etc., with various domestic animals, and numerous persons engaged in husbandry and other pursuits. In bolder relief stand Europeans in the costume of the 15th and 16th centuries, engaged as if in animated and joyful conversation and greetings, and by various attitudes manifesting happiness and joy. On the right is represented a section of a church, at the door of which stands a venerable man, with head uncovered, with his hands

extended, as if welcoming these persons to a new and happy habitation. This side is surrounded by the following inscription: VND DV SOLLT EIN SEEGEN SEYN, 1 b. Mos., XII., V. 2, and across the bottom as follows: GOTT GIBT SIEWIEDER. *Clark*, 2:274

This is a great amount of detail for one medal. The quotations are from the German Bible, and relate to Abraham's migration. Clark questioned whether the medal might not be a relic of the Zeisberger mission of 1750, but the site where it was found had then been long abandoned, and it suggests the encouragement of emigration from the fatherland. It may be referred to the end of the 17th century.

Mr Clark gives figures and descriptions of several small medals, but those which follow are mostly those examined by the writer, and are but a sample of those abundant during the Jesuit missionary period.

Fig. 296 shows one which differs from the rest in having a German inscription, and its age may be uncertain. It was found on an Indian camping site near Baldwinsville in 1880, and is of brass, elliptic and thin. On one side is a border of 15 stars, inclosing a cross placed above the letter M. Below is a flaming heart, with another pierced by a sword. On the obverse is the Virgin Mary, with a halo around the head and drooping palm branches in each hand. She seems to be treading on a serpent, but this is corroded and may be a date. The German inscription follows the border in a double line. It is now indistinct and the writer made it out as follows: GEHE PA GEN . . . NDE EMPFANGEN. RITT. FUR. UNS. The inner line is D: W: ZU: D: UNSRE: ZU: FURCHT. NEHMEN. As some letters are doubtful Mr Stewart Culin suggested that the opening words might be *Gehe fagen*, and the last but one *Flucht.* The medal has disappeared, and the inscription remains in doubt. It may be recent, as the writer has examined a smaller silver one of 1830, found at Mobile in 1868, closely resembling this. It has but 12 stars, and the double inscription is in English:

"O Mary, conceived without sin,
Pray for us who have recourse to you."

This differs greatly from the German inscription above, and has been rather common in the century just past, but there are early examples which are similar. Mr Clark described a small brass medal found in Pompey, and in good preservation. It had:

The figure of a Roman pontiff, in a standing position, in his hand a crozier, surrounded with this inscription: *B. virg. sin. P. origi con.,* which we have ventured to write out *Beata virgo sine Peccato originali concepta,* or as we might say in English, The blessed Virgin conceived without original sin. On the other side was a representation of a serpent, and two nearly naked figures looking intently upon it. This one is very perfect in all its parts, and the letters as plain as if struck but yesterday. *Clark,* 2:273

He described two others from a later site. One was "an octagonal brass medal nearly an inch in diameter, having a figure with the name *St Agatha,* and the Latin word *Ora,* a part of the Gregorian chant. Also a silver medal half an inch long, with a figure inscribed *St Lucia,* and the same fragment of a chant." *Clark,* 2:280

Fig. 298 shows the first of these, and fig. 300 the second. His figure has *Ora. P. N.* in the latter instance, and these letters seem to have been obliterated in the other. This gives the familiar *Ora pro nobis.*

Many of this class of medals have been found in Cayuga county, but most of these have been dispersed. Mr Betts described one from Scipioville, on the obverse of which is a female saint, facing the right. The inscription is Santa. Rosa. de. Lima. Ord. He said that this saint is still very popular in Canada. On the reverse is a head of St Paul, facing the left, with arms crossed and holding a crucifix. *Betts,* p. 32

Though these medals are usually of brass, some are of lead and silver. Fig. 291 is of lead, and was found at Indian castle in Pompey. It is elliptic in outline, showing a bust with uplifted hand, and is perforated at the base. Fig. 294 is of silver and from the same place. It is circular and suggests a coin, but the writer recalls none like it. A lion holding arrows is on one side, and on the other three lines of letters and a date partially effaced. The date, as well as the site, is of the 17th century. There is a single perforation.

Fig. 292 is a heart-shaped medal, with an embossed heart in the center, and a dotted border. It was found at Scipioville. Fig. 293 is from the same place, and is larger than most examples. It is elliptic in outline, with a fine half length figure and a partially effaced inscription relating to Francis Xavier. Fig. 301 came from the same site and is octagonal. A fine bust, with raised hand, has an inscription around it, of which "Francis, Ora P." can yet be read. Fig. 302 is a fine example from the same place and of the same form. A cross, with a halo of rays, is above what may be either altar or font, on either side of which are kneeling figures. Fig. 295 is another octagonal medal from Cayuga county, with the bust of a man and a child. Fig. 299 shows both sides of an elliptic medal from a small site near the entrance of Onondaga creek into the lake, and which was much frequented about the year 1700. On both sides are figures apparently in ecclesiastical garments, with hoods thrown back. The inscriptions are partly effaced, but the following may be traced on one side: S. IO. . . . ANNES . . . CAPISTR. On the other appears S. P. A. S. (a chalice here in the border) CHALIS. S. . . . ON. There is a prominent loop above.

An elliptic silver medal, recently found in Pompey, is too much defaced for definite description.

Two brass medals are in Mr Stanford's collection at Munnsville. Fig. 385 is the largest of these, and has on one side a head of Christ with a halo. The inscription is IESVS FILIVS DEI. On the reverse is a head of the Virgin Mary, also with a halo, and the words MATER DEI. Fig. 384 is a smaller medal, with the Virgin and child on the obverse. On the reverse is the sun above, and below this a figure which may be altar, candlestick or font, being somewhat worn. On either side is a kneeling angel.

A fine brass medal was found by the Rev. W. H. Casey at Union Springs, in the autumn of 1902. It is in excellent preservation and is 1½ inches long, including the loop, and nearly 1⅛ wide. On one side is a fine head of Christ and SALVATOR MUNDI; on the other a head of the Virgin Mary and MATER CHRISTI. It was seen too late to illustrate here.

Brooches

About the beginning of the 18th century, Iroquois taste in ornament took a decided turn. Glass and porcelain beads were still in favor, but the brass and bronze ornaments began to give place to silver. The change came gradually, but very decidedly, and in the end affected all Indian tribes. Loskiel said: "The rich adorn their heads with a number of silver trinkets of considerable weight. This mode of finery is not so common among the Delawares as the Iroquois, who, by studying dress and ornament more than any other Indian nation, are allowed to dictate the fashion to the rest."

By the middle of that century the Indians had everywhere become critical in this matter. La Presentation (at Ogdensburg) was settled in 1749, and reference is made to silver articles in the account of the settlement in *Lettres edifiantes et curieuses.* The matter of rival trade, as between New York and Canada, was as burning a question then as now, and the latter had the same disadvantage of position in winter, enhancing the price of goods. Toronto and Niagara could have stopped, it is said, "all the savages, had the stores been furnished with goods to their liking. There was a wish to imitate the English in the trifles they sold the savages, such as silver bracelets, etc. The Indians compared & weighed them, as the storekeeper at Niagara stated, and the Choëguen (Oswego) bracelets which were found as heavy, of a purer silver and more elegant, did not cost them two beavers, whilst those at the King's posts wanted to sell them for ten beavers. Thus we were discredited, and this silver ware remained a pure loss in the King's stores. . . . To destroy the Trade the King's posts ought to have been supplied with the same goods as Choëguen and at the same price." *O'Callaghan,* p. 437

William Smith published his *History of New York* in 1756. He said of the Indians, "Many of them are fond of ornaments, and their taste is singular. I have seen rings affixed, not only to their ears, but to their noses. Bracelets of silver and brass round their wrists, are very common." *Smith,* p. 69

Heckewelder described the funeral of a woman in 1762: "Her garments, all new, were set off with rows of silver brooches, one row

joining another. Over the sleeves of her new ruffled shirt were broad silver arm spangles," etc. A good deal of wampum and many silver ornaments were placed elsewhere. A note says of the brooches, " a kind of round buckle with a tongue, which the Indians fasten to their shirts. The traders call them brooches. They are placed in rows at the distance of about the breadth of a finger one from the other." *Heckewelder*, p. 270

In Col. Proctor's journal of May 3, 1791, he relates his visit to the Onondaga village 3 miles east of Buffalo. They had 28 cabins, and were " well clothed, particularly the women, some of whom were dressed so richly, with silken stroud, etc., and ornamented with so many silver trappings, that one suit must be of the value of at least thirty pounds." *Penn. Archives*, 4:591

Miss Powell was at Buffalo in 1785, and gave an account of Capt. David, a clean, handsome and graceful Indian:

His hair was shaved off, except a little on the top of his head, to which his ornaments were fastened; and his head and ears were painted a glowing red. Round his head was fastened a fillet of highly polished silver. From the left temple hung two straps of black velvet, covered with silver beads and brooches. On the top of his head was placed a foxtail feather, which bowed to the wind, as did two black ones, one in each ear. A pair of immense earrings, which hung below his shoulders, completed his headdress, which I assure was not unbecoming, though I must confess, somewhat fantastical. His dress was a shirt of colored calico,—the neck and shoulders covered so thick with silver brooches as to have the appearance of a net; and his sleeves were much like those the ladies wore when I left England, fastened about the arm with a broad bracelet of highly polished silver, engraved with the arms of England; four smaller bracelets round the wrist, of the same material; and around his waist a large scarf of very dark colored stuff, lined with scarlet, which hung to his feet; part of this scarf he generally drew over his left arm, which had a very graceful effect when he moved. And his legs were covered with blue cloth, made to fit neatly with an ornamental garter bound below the knee. *Ketchum*, 2:96

These accounts fully show the abundance of silver ornaments in that century. Elkanah Watson noticed the same thing at the treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1788. Many of the Indian women were dressed

"in the richest silks, fine scarlet clothes, bordered with gold fringe, a profusion of brooches, rings in their noses, their ears slit, and their heads decorated with feathers." These things bear out the statement made by an Onondaga to the writer, that 50 years ago some families had each a bushel of such ornaments.

In speaking of personal adornment, Loskiel said that Indian women were well dressed:

> The Delaware men pay particular attention to the dress of their women, and on that account clothe themselves rather meanly. There are many who would think it scandalous to appear better clothed than their wives. *Loskiel*, 1:51

The women wore petticoats, reaching a little below the knee. Some wore garments "of printed linen or cotton of various colors, decorated at the breast with a great number of silver buckles, which are also worn by some as ornaments upon their petticoats. . . They adorn their ears, necks and breasts with corals, small crosses, little round escutcheons, and crescents, made either of silver or wampom." *Loskiel*, 1:52

Heckewelder speaks much to the same purpose:

> The wealthy adorn themselves besides with ribands and gartering of various colors, beads and silver brooches. These ornaments are arranged by the women, who, as well as the men, know how to set themselves off in style. . . The women, at the expense of their husbands or lovers, line their petticoat and blue or scarlet cloth blanket or covering with choice ribands of various colors, on which they fix a number of silver brooches, or small round buckles. *Heckewelder*, p. 203

Quotations regarding the lavish use of silver ornaments, specially in the latter part of the 18th century, might be multiplied. It may be well to add what Mr Morgan has said of this feature of Seneca dress. The short overskirt of calico, called by them *Ah-de-á-da-we-sa*, and reaching above the knee, usually had one or two rows of brooches on each side, as the writer often has seen them. Morgan adds:

> The Indian female delights in a profusion of silver ornaments, consisting of silver brooches of various patterns and sizes, from

those which are 6 inches in diameter, and worth as many dollars, down to that of the smallest size, valued at a sixpence. Silver earrings and finger rings of various designs, silver bracelets, hatbands and crosses, are also found in their paraphernalia. These crosses, relics of Jesuit influence, are frequently 8 inches in length, of solid silver, and very valuable, but they are looked upon by them simply in the light of ornament. *Morgan*, p. 386

The last remark should be always borne in mind. The writer has bought many of these ornaments of many Indians, but they were without significance to them. If a meaning is suggested, they will good-naturedly assent to anything; they do not think of one themselves, as Mr Morgan found.

Apparently the brooch was an evolution from the gorget, for some metallic ornaments of this kind were tied on, not buckled. Such ornaments are rare, and may never have been common. As far as known, they are circular, and like the brooch of that form except in the center. Fig. 17 is a silver one of this kind, having four interlacing rings inside of the outer circle. There is no place for or sign of a buckle, and it was probably tied or sewed to the garment, for there is no reason to think it was suspended. This was found in the town of DeWitt N. Y. and is in the Richmond collection. Fig. 21 is a smaller one of the same design from the Mohawk valley, which belongs to Mr Frey. A large and handsome one from Ohio was shown at the Pan-American Exposition. In this a slender outer ring inclosed an open six pointed star, bisected by an inner circle. Fig. 160 is of copper and has no central opening. It is from the site of 1677 in Pompey, and is unfortunately broken.

Like wampum, the silver brooches partially answered the purpose of money. The Onondagas often placed them in pawn, but sometimes parted with them at a fixed value. Some visitors at Oquaga, in 1769, observed this there. "Some of the women wear silver brooches, each of which passes for a shilling, and are as current among the Indians as money. Brant's wife had several tier of them in her dress, to the amount perhaps of 10 or 15 pounds." *Halsey*, p. 143. That is, she wore from 200 to 300 of these; and this seems no rare example.

The brooch proper has a central opening, across which a tongue extends, like that of a buckle. The cloth is pinched up and passed through this opening, the tongue penetrating it twice, when it is drawn back, and the brooch is firmly in place. When they were plentiful, the smaller ones were usually arranged in two lines down the center of the overskirt in front, and across the front of the lower edge. The larger ones were reserved for the upper part of the dress. Sometimes small ones were arranged on ribbons. Most of the smaller forms were very abundant. In those of similar outline quite a variety was obtained by varying the perforations and the surface ornamentation. The latter was mostly made with punches, but the graver was occasionally used. Those formed of brass are extremely rare, the writer having obtained but two among the hundreds of silver ones which he has seen. There are early examples in graves. Of these the writer has seen several from graves in Wisconsin. They were mostly circular, but one stellar brooch had broad and short rays.

Preliminary to further descriptions it may be said that Mrs Harriet Maxwell Converse furnished an illustrated paper on "The Iroquois Silver Brooches" for the State Museum report for 1900. Many of the illustrations will be recognized here, nearly half coming from the writer's collection and the remainder, also found in the paper mentioned, from that of Mrs Converse, there being a mutual interchange of figures.

Fig. 31 is a fine brass brooch which the writer obtained at Onondaga. It is a circular ornament of good size, with crenulated and embossed edge. To show the rarity of this material employed in such a use, it may be said that an Indian friend was surprised at it, never having seen one of the kind before. The writer afterward secured another circular brooch of brass which was plain and much smaller.

The simplest and perhaps earliest form of the brooch seems to have been that called the round buckle, allusions to which have been quoted from several authors. It is frequent yet, either plain or ornamented. With the three double-barred silver crosses, described by Mr Boyle in Canada, was a piece of cloth decorated with 20 of these. Dr Evarts, of Silver Creek N. Y., showed the writer

35 plain rings buckled on a piece of cloth, which he had from the neighboring Cattaraugus (Seneca) Indians. The writer has many of various styles of finish, and might easily have had more. In the 18th century they were cheap as compared with others, and were lavishly employed. A few are shown.

Fig. 35 is one out of a number the writer obtained at Onondaga. Fig. 38 is out of another lot he had from the same place. These are rounded on the face and flat on the back. It is quite a common size. Fig. 23 is a larger size from the same place, and made in the same way. Fig. 25 differs from these in being broader and flat. The writer had this also from Onondaga, but it is not so common as the last. Many of these simple forms have some surface ornamentation. Fig. 19 was found in the Mohawk valley, and is small, elliptic, and has many transverse grooves. Fig. 24 has the same style of ornament, but is larger and circular. It is also a Mohawk example.

Fig. 85 preserves the circular form, but has broad undulations on the surface. This and the next three the writer had from Onondaga. Fig. 88 differs from the last in having the indentations only on the outer edge of the surface, and in their being separate instead of continuous. Fig. 90 is a flat ring, with distinct indentations on each edge of the surface. It is a fine and rather rare form. Fig. 91 is worked so as to show a continuous series of semicircles all around the center of the surface. This is not a frequent style now. Fig. 74 has nine bosses on the surface, with intervening cross lines. The writer got this at Onondaga, and has seen none like it.

Fig. 46 was given to the Buffalo Historical Society by Mrs Van Rensselaer, with other fine brooches. It has the ring form, but of an angular style. At each angle is a boss, the intervening space being narrower and with three cross grooves. Fig. 73 has a similar character, but the curved spaces between the bosses have no grooves. This came from the Tuscarora reservation.

Fig. 20 is the smallest of the circular brooches, which the writer has seen, that can not be classed with the ring brooches or round buckles. Small as it is, eight small circles adorn the surface. It is almost flat, and came from a grave in Cayuga county.

No brooches are more effective than those having the form of a star, and the writer has been fortunate in securing many figures and examples of these. They are usually flat, but fig. 1 has a slightly convex surface. This is of a large size, and has a heart-shaped opening in the center, and 20 short embossed rays. They never have sharp points, as these would be inconvenient. This came from the Cattaraugus reservation. It is more highly ornamented than most of these. Fig. 2 shows a fine star brooch, with eight rays and an ornamented surface. This the writer had from Onondaga.

Fig. 3 is another Cattaraugus star brooch, with 16 short embossed rays. It is otherwise perfectly plain. Fig. 5 is another from Cattaraugus, with eight rays. The writer obtained three of these, and they are the smallest of the kind he has seen. They were probably used on ribbons. For its size this is well ornamented.

Fig. 4 is a fine, large star from Onondaga, with 12 embossed rays. In the figure dark spaces show all the perforations except the central one. Fig. 6 is a small star brooch from the Tuscarora reservation, with seven rays. The surface decoration is simple.

The following five the writer obtained at Onondaga. Fig. 7 is a star of 13 rays with a well ornamented surface. Fig. 8 has 12 rays, and is much smaller and simpler. Fig. 9 is one of the prettiest he has found. The edges of each of the nine embossed rays are slightly concave, and the surface ornaments are made to correspond. Fig. 10 is the largest he has obtained or seen. It is quite thick, has 12 embossed rays, and the surface is neatly adorned. The full width is over $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches. This fine ornament belonged to Chief Abram La Fort, or *Te-hat-kah-tous,* who died in 1848. Fig. 15 has 12 embossed rays and neat surface decorations. Fig. 49 is also from Onondaga, and has 12 short rays. This belonged to Miss Remington, once employed in mission work there.

Fig. 11 is a small star in the writer's collection, sent him by Dr C. B. Tweedale, and which was found in a grave in Huron county, Ont., Canada. It has a plain surface and eight embossed rays. The writer has many drawings of Canadian brooches, some

very fine, but they do not differ essentially from those of New York, where many of them were probably made.

Fig. 12 is a small and plain star of 12 rays, which the writer had from the Allegany reservation. Fig. 16 is a fine star from the same reservation. It has 14 quite short embossed rays. Fig. 13 is a fine star with eight broad rays and bosses, belonging to the Buffalo Historical Society. Fig. 14 is in the Richmond collection and is quite peculiar. The central perforation is quite large, and the 12 long rays terminate in circular points, which are not embossed. The surface decoration is simple. This is one of a number of Seneca brooches in this collection.

Mrs Harriet Maxwell Converse secured a large and interesting collection of brooches, part of which now belongs to the State. The writer is indebted to her for figures of many of these, a number of which will be used in this paper. Fig. 22 is a large circular brooch, with a plain rim and an included star with embossed points. Both the dark and light spaces in the figure show perforations. The star has 12 rays. This fine brooch is of a rare type. The three following are also Mrs Converse's. Fig. 32 is large and circular. The 16 projecting bosses have incurved edges between them, and the slightly convex surface is finely ornamented with perforations and tracery. The circular brooches have raised centers as a rule. Fig. 48 is a very pretty and peculiar brooch. Included in the edge are 16 very small bosses, with convex edges between them. The perforations are of an unusual form, and the tracery of a rare character. Fig. 61 has a broadly undulated edge, and the border decoration is not of a common type. Mrs Converse died Nov. 18, 1903.

Fig. 18 the writer obtained at Onondaga. It has 24 projecting bosses on the plain circular edge. There are circular, semicircular and elliptic perforations and some tracery. About two dozen follow which the writer had from the same place. All which succeed are circular till otherwise distinguished.

Fig. 27 has a crenulated edge and three rows of nearly semicircular perforations. Fig. 29 has a similar border, and semicircular, elliptic and triangular openings. Fig. 33 has the same edge, two rows of semicircular and one of elliptic perforations. Fig. 34 is

large and fine, with a broadly crenulated border. Besides the large central one, the perforations are semicircles, rectangles, hearts and triangles. Fig. 34*a* is of good size, with a crenulated border, and three rows of semicircular openings. Fig. 39 is a handsome brooch, with 16 small bosses at the intersection of the crenulations in the border. There are three lines of semicircular openings, and another of quadrilateral forms. Fig. 41 has small bosses closely set around the rim, and is of small size. All the perforations are angular, and nearly or quite quadrilateral. Fig. 42 is much like the last but in every way smaller. The central aperture corresponds with that, but the four openings outside of this are semicircular.

Fig. 43 has the frequent crenulated edge, a line of semicircular, and another of elliptic openings, but between each of the last is a small boss, amounting to six in all. They are rarely found in this position. Fig. 50 is a very pretty but small brooch, with crenulated border. The perforations are elliptic and point to the center. Fig. 53 is small, and has small bosses closely set around the edge. The perforations are elliptic and triangular, and the tracery of unusual design. Fig. 54 is large, with broad crenulations. The openings are two lines of semicircles and one of long triangles. Fig. 58 has a plain edge, with bosses projecting all around it. The apertures form a single line of semicircles. It is a simple but very handsome ornament.

Fig. 59 is a very simple style, with crenulated edge and one row of semicircular apertures. Fig. 60 has the same edge, with a line of semicircular openings and another of hearts and circles. Fig. 63 is a small but showy brooch. Medium sized bosses intersect the angles of the crenulated edge. The apertures are semicircles, ellipses and triangles. Fig. 64 has a crenulated edge, a line of crescents, and another of ellipses. Fig. 65 differs from the last in tracery, and in having an inner circle of stars. Fig. 67 has a crenulated border, and for apertures semicircles, ellipses and triangles. Fig. 68 has broader crenulations than most, and two lines of semicircular apertures.

Fig. 69 is very simple but effective. The crenulations are of moderate width, but halfway to the central aperture is a line of

eight large circular openings. Fig. 77 is one of the plainest kind. The edge is simple, and a star appears in tracery on the otherwise plain surface. Fig. 79 is a pretty brooch with broadly undulated edge. There are eight pyriform apertures, but the graceful tracery gives a pleasant effect. Fig. 89 is of unusual character. Small bosses appear at intervals around the otherwise plain edge, and there is a circle of apertures of the indented shield form. The surface decorations are small circles and dots.

After the above was in print the writer obtained a fine circular brooch $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches across, but not as heavy as the La Fort star. It has 23 obtuse points, two rows of diamond perforations, a row of shield form apertures, and delicate tracery. It came from the Senecas. Some others have been noted but not figured here.

Besides his own circular brooches from Onondaga, selected above, the writer has figured many in the hands of Indians there, or in those of friends who have since parted with them. Some of these will follow, simply credited to Onondaga. Fig. 26 is a fine example of these. It has large bosses on the edge, with double crenulations between them; inside of the border is a line of cordate and triangular apertures, with openings between these and the heart-shaped opening in the center. Fig. 28 is another large brooch with crenulated edges and many perforations. A double row of these, of triangular form, gives the effect of a central star. Fig. 30 is about half the diameter of the last, and has the common crenulated edge. The apertures are lines of crescents, circles and triangles.

Fig. 36 is quite small, and has a crenulated edge. The only decoration is a line of small circles on the surface. Fig. 40 has broad crenulations. The apertures are semicircular and quadrilateral. Fig. 45 has also broad crenulations. One line of ellipses is parallel with the edge; the others point to the center. This has less tracery than the last. Fig. 57 is a rare form. Every third crenulation slightly projects, giving the border an angular appearance, and there are six circular apertures besides the central one. The tracery is tasteful. Fig. 76 has a crenulated border and a line of elliptic apertures.

Fig. 80 is small, but of an unusual design. The border is crenulated, and within are alternate crescent and cordate apertures, four of each, the latter pointing to the edge.

The following, in the writer's collection, come from the Allegany reservation. They are circular, but others from that place are of other forms. Fig. 52 has the broad crenulations finely serrated, a rare feature. There are lines of semicircular, pyriform and very small circular apertures. Fig. 70 has a crenulated border, and two lines of semicircular openings within.

Some other Allegany circular brooches follow. Fig. 51 is a small brooch with crenulated edges. The apertures are crescent and pyriform. Fig. 66 is a very pretty example. The crenulations are alternately long and short, and the perforations are semicircular and triangular. The central aperture is angular, and the tracery adds much to the beauty of this ornament. Fig. 71 is unique. There are eight short projecting points united by curved edges, and two lines of diamond form apertures. Fig. 75 has a plain rim and eight triangular openings. The effect is that of an included star. Fig. 81 has a broadly undulating edge, and a line of elliptic openings pointing to the center. Fig. 84 has a finely crenulated border and a circle of small bosses within this. All the openings, including the central one, are quadrilateral. This is a rare feature in a circular brooch.

The following are in the Buffalo collection. Fig. 37 has broadly crenulated edges, with an inner line of semicircular openings. Within this is another line of six elliptic apertures, alternating with those which may be called cuneiform. The tracery is of small circles and arrow points. Fig. 44 has a crenulated border and a line of triangular openings. An inner line of crescents and delicate tracery adds much to the effect. Fig. 47 has a crenulated edge, and lines of crescent and elliptic openings. Fig. 58*a* is crenulated, and the apertures are cordate and elliptic. It is a very pretty brooch.

The writer secured a number on the Tonawanda reservation, but there was but little variety among them. Fig. 62 is one of these. It has a plain rim, but the single line of semicircular openings gives a starlike appearance to the center. Fig. 82 has very promi-

nent crenulations, and lines of crescent, elliptic and triangular openings. There are many like this.

Three Seneca circular brooches are shown from the Richmond collection. Fig. 56 has a close line of small bosses along the border, and there are four long quadrilateral openings toward the central one, which is both large and angular. Fig. 72 has a similar line of bosses. The apertures are elliptic and triangular. Fig. 78 has a simple rim, and the only aperture is the central one. On the surface are triangles and other tracery.

Fig. 199 is taken from a figure by L. H. Morgan, showing a circular brooch of what is now a very extreme size. The apertures are a line of ellipses, one of large and one of small triangles.

Fig. 55 was not mentioned among Mrs Converse's circular brooches. The border is broadly crenulated, and 13 cordate apertures point to the center. Surface tracery unites some of the hearts so as to form a six pointed star. Her collection comprises some of the rarest forms now to be obtained, and these will successively follow, except the Masonic forms. The localities are unimportant and will be omitted.

Fig. 92 is grotesque and involved. There are animal heads at two opposite angles, of no very certain species. The artist may have had some native kind in mind, but the surface decoration might suggest the leopard and tiger. A grotesque face protrudes beyond the point of the buckle, which probably amused the red man greatly. Of course heraldic meanings might be attached to every point, adding greatly to its poetic charms, but without awakening any response in the mind of the Indian wearer. Fig. 99 shows an eagle with broadly expanded and conventional tail. One wing is naturally raised, the other conventionally, and considerable ornament is added. This should be dated since the rise of the American republic. Fig. 155 has its counterpart in the Toronto collection; and the writer is inclined to think it an extremely conventionalized variant of the preceding, as may appear by reversing it.

Mrs Converse kindly sent her own interpretation of these brooches, which is much more tasteful and poetic than the prosaic

views of the writer, and will be gladly received by those fond of recondite studies. Of fig. 92 she says:

This is the most curious and ingenious form. I have never seen a duplicate of this brooch. It symbolizes the totems, or family union and the man, including the story of their warrior ancestors, and tells the story of the union of the Wolf and Bear. The upper figurehead represents the Bear. The lower, the Wolf, united by a human face, signifying the head of the family. The figure of the Wolf terminates in the war club. The Bear holds the war club, and the pin or buckle unites the two. The Bear chief had married the Wolf woman. Both descended from sachems or head chiefs. Fig. 99 represents a combination of the great Eagle, guardian of the dews and war, or sky and earth. At the spread of the tail the small winged symbols indicate his duty in the air. The flat half circles tell the sign of his earth or war office. The simplest brooch is not an accident of the graver's tool. Each stroke is a symbol in hieroglyphs, understood by the expert sign-reader. Fig. 155 is rare, inasmuch as the design is not common. It is the symbol of the warrior. One end forms the tomahawk, the other a war club.

Fig. 86 may be called either pyriform or cordate, the central aperture being the latter, while the opening above changes the general design to the pyriform. There are basal projections, and those at the top suggest the general figure of a crown. The surface is plain. Mrs Converse considers some of the figures above the cordate forms as owls' heads, taking these for emblems of silence and secrecy. This one she describes as a "heart. Owl defined by the open mouth only. Eyes closed." Fig. 87 she calls "very rare. Finely engraved." The writer has seen but one resembling this, and that was by no means as elaborate and fine. The general form is that of a heart with a coronet above, but with unusual surface decoration.

Fig. 95 is another unique brooch, with several half circular projections, and a fanlike ornament above, which may be a variation of the more common form of the crown, surmounting the open heart below. This general plan appears in very many brooches, with endless changes. Mrs Converse thought, this "represents the flaring tail of a bird, yet the heart is on guard in the center. Evidently a totem bird." Fig. 100 is also unique. Both heart and

crown are much conventionalized, and the point of the former is turned to one side and projects beyond the center.

Fig. 136 is cordate, with the base curving to one side. The crown above is hardly recognizable as such at first, and is much ornamented. Mrs Converse described this as "a single heart, surmounted by the horns of a chief, typical of the faithful love of whoever presented it to the chief or sachem." It is a rather frequent form. Fig. 146 is a fine example of the simple heart with an elegant form of the crown. Mrs Converse's interpretation is ingenious: "Horned or chief's brooch; the three branches denote three chiefs in family succession." The triple character of the crown appears in nearly all, there being a small central projection with a broader one on each side. In rare instances there are more.

Fig. 148 has the heart and crown, the former turning aside and ending in an eagle's head. The definition of the owner is pretty: "The eagle defending the life or heart of its owner." A great many of the single or double heart brooches end with eagles' heads, and come within the era of the American republic. It would be easy to interpret them as meaning that the crown or royal rule, through the heart's blood of the colonists freely shed, terminated in the republic whose symbol is the eagle.

Some of the writer's Onondaga brooches will follow. Fig. 94 is fine and perhaps unique. It has the crown and heart form, with the point turned to one side. The crown has no points, and includes a cordate perforation in its center, surrounded by other forms. Its large size allowed more surface decoration than is usual in these. Fig. 96 may be called a double heart, surmounted by a crown in which are several cordate apertures. The basal terminations are two eagles' heads. A friend had one from the Oneida Indians precisely like this, and it is by no means a rare form. Several of the same class are in the writer's collection. Fig. 101 is a little smaller than the last, and the apertures in the crown are crescents and quadrants. It is like one owned by Mrs Converse, of which she wrote: "Rare. A crown terminating with double eagle-headed snake. This serpent has a power over the land and sea. The wavy lines signifying water, the long or land line, and two

dots signify day, sun and moon, or the journey, the rest and the start." This does not agree with the interpretation of fig. 148.

Fig. 105 can hardly be considered Indian work, though obtained from an Onondaga. There is the familiar heart, with some worn ornament at the end, but the pelican above shows a white man's taste and thought. As far as known, it is unique. Fig. 147 is a fine cordate brooch, with a crown resembling in a general way that in fig. 146, but of a more elegant design. This has a little surface decoration. Fig. 149 is cordate, with another form of crown, where circles replace the frequent points. Fig. 151 is cordate, and has the rounded crown with basal points. Several of these differ little except in the apertures.

Some belonging to Onondagas follow. Fig. 83 is a large brooch formerly worn by Aunt Susannah. It is of a kite or diamond shape, with ornamental edges and tracery. Fig. 102 has a generally cordate form and a suggestion of the crown above. It is quite a departure from the typical form, but the resemblance will at once be seen, as in other cases. There are projections at the sides and base. Fig. 103 has much the same character, but has tracery and circular apertures. Fig. 104 is intermediate between these two.

Fig. 137 has the heart with a conventional and elaborate crown. The base curves to one side, and an eagle's head may have worn away. Fig. 140 the writer had from Onondaga. In the center of the crown and on either side are sharp projections. Mrs Converse thought these crowns with apertures were intended for owls' heads, to which they bear a curious resemblance.

Some Tuscarora forms of this class follow. Fig. 93 is of a general diamond form, with undulating edges and four bosses in the margin. There are several apertures and some tracery. Fig. 150 is quite broad for its size, and is a double heart surmounted by a low crown. The basal point curves to one side.

The following illustrations of this class are of brooches from the Allegany reservation. Fig. 97 is a very simple cordate example, with the base turned to one side. The metal forms a narrow band all around the broad aperture. Fig. 141 has the frequent combination of heart and crown, the latter having sharp projections on each side,

three circular apertures in the crown, and some surface decoration. Usually the lower aperture has a double curve, to emphasize the cordate form. Fig. 142 has the feature mentioned, but is otherwise much like the last. Fig. 143 differs in having a projection in the upper circles, thus giving each of those apertures a crescent form. Fig. 145 has the heart with the point turned to one side, and the highly conventionalized crown. Like fig. 137, the latter has no central projection. The surface is covered with tracery.

Fig. 138 is in the Richmond collection, and is a rare form of the heart and crown brooch. Both lower sides have strong cross corrugations, and the crown has a finely crenulated border, as well as the frequent three projections. In the crown are four circular apertures.

Two are shown from the Cattaraugus reservation. Fig. 139 has the usual combination of heart and crown, the two upper apertures having the crescent form. Fig. 144 is one of the neatest examples the writer has seen. The apertures are so formed as to bring out the outlines in the most graceful way.

Fig. 98 is a remarkable Tuscarora brooch, linking this type to the common lyre forms, not long since so abundant. It is large, and has the usual lyre base and sides, but, instead of expanding, it contracts at the top as in cordate forms. Fig. 125 is another small and odd Tuscarora brooch, which is somewhat contracted at the top, and unusually expanded at the base, where there is a short projection on each side.

Fig. 128 is a large lyre-shaped brooch in Mrs Converse's collection, on which she makes this note: "Uncommon. Found in Canada. Two hearts surmounted by a crown, symbolizing friendship." This one is unusually large, but the general type is one of the commonest on the New York reservations. The writer has seen large numbers of them; and, when Major F. H. Furniss was adopted by the Senecas in 1885, his future Seneca mother placed a long black ribbon around his neck, on which were 34 silver brooches of what the writer calls the lyre pattern. This had belonged to Red Jacket's wife, according to tradition. The necklace was considerably over three feet long, and the brooches were about an inch long and $\frac{3}{4}$ of

an inch wide. The original string had been divided some years before, and 15 of the brooches had been arranged on a ribbon in the form of a cross. This was given to Mrs Converse, who was adopted at the same time. The natural inference is that she referred to the size rather than form. Fig. 132 is also hers, but it is smaller and the base is different. It will be observed that what she considers the top of some of these the writer makes the base, thus changing the character.

Fig. 127 is the common size, and the writer had this from the Allegany reservation. It differs from the next mainly in the rounded points and small details of decoration. Fig. 129 was obtained from the same source. Fig. 130 the writer got of the Onondagas. It is slender for so large a size. Fig. 133, obtained with the next at the same place, is also slender and has rounded points. Fig. 131 is a large size, and has a remarkably angular base.

The class of brooches now to be illustrated by a few examples out of very many, is a very curious one, and definitely proves that ornament and not meaning was the great object in the manufacture and use of all. These ornaments, now to be considered, embody the square and compasses, with more or less accessories in the way of decoration, and sometimes these are highly conventionalized. The origin is plain when the resemblance is almost lost and this loss has led to some erroneous interpretations.

A friend writes:

> I fail to find in illustrations of jewelry ornamentation of either the French, English or Dutch, designs that have been actually followed in the hammered coin brooch of the Iroquois. In fact, I credit him with entire originality, very curious in some cases, and again there are suggestions of the white man's work ingeniously intergraven with his own conceptions of art not so rude or savage, that it has not developed genius and invention.

This question will not be discussed now; but it is true that the designs of Indian brooches for the most part seem American designs. It is very difficult—perhaps impossible—to find these designs practically anticipated in any other land. So much the writer had reason to believe. Then came a revelation concerning these Masonic

brooches, too many for Indians to use with any reference to their meaning. All these illustrations had been prepared, and work was progressing on these notes, when one day came a catalogue of curios from England, *The Amateur Trader* of Miss Clara Millard, Teddington, Middlesex. No. 4188 of this had an illustration which was the close counterpart of fig. 110 in size, form and details. The description is "XVII. CENTURY masonic emblem, in jargoons and paste. Exact size. £2 12s 6d." Was the Indian silver brooch copied from this, or this from the brooch? The same question might be asked of other forms. The silver brooch of the Indians did not exist in the 17th century, and the age of the above ornament may also be doubted.

After this was in print a learned German friend pointed out to the writer several brooches of what he said were Scandinavian and other types in his collection, but there has been no time to study the subject, and illustrations of this are not now recalled.

Out of a large number of these Masonic brooches, over a score have been selected for illustration, in themselves far more in number than all the Indian Free Masons known. Joseph Brant was a well known member of the fraternity, and Red Jacket has been claimed. There may have been a few others, but these were common ornaments. The writer has nine still in his collection, after parting with some to his friends. He might easily at one time have trebled the number. This abundance is proof that they had no significance to most of their wearers.

Fig. 124 was the first of these that attracted the writer's attention, and it now belongs to the Masonic Veterans of Central New York. The base is a half circle with ornaments, and above this the square and compasses are plainly seen. This was long worn by Aunt Dinah, a very old Onondaga woman. Traditionally it first came from Brant's family to her, and was naturally supposed to be a jewel worn by him. Now that the form is known to be so common, this may be doubted.

Several examples follow from Mrs Converse's fine collection. Fig. 108 adds many things to the simpler form, which is easily detected under these accumulated ornaments. Several fine bosses add to its effect. The forms of apertures used in this appear in several

others. Fig. 110 is a smaller and simpler form, almost identical with the English one mentioned except in material. Like that, it has a curved base, and the sun and moon between this and the square. Another interesting thing in connection with this is mentioned by Mrs Converse. She said: "It was given me by the grandson of Red Jacket. It proved from that Red Jacket was a Mason, and wore this brooch for pass. In further investigation, while working at the Red Jacket monument at Buffalo, I heard of a man who had sat in a lodge with the great Sa-go-ye-wat-ha." The brooch hardly proves this, the other evidence is hearsay, but, if Red Jacket was a member of the craft, it would appear on some of its records. He was too well known to be easily overlooked in such a matter.

Fig. 113 is smaller and less elegant, but has the same features in a more conventional way. Fig. 117 is larger and more elaborate. Fig. 119 is one of the simplest forms, having but two apertures, but these are large. The surface is covered with tracery. Fig. 120 is quite conventional, but the leading features of other forms are readily detected. Fig. 126 is simple, with but little surface decoration.

Fig. 109 is a Seneca brooch, differing from some other elaborate ones only in minor details. This has six bosses, which are smaller than in most others. This and the next are in the Richmond collection. Fig. 114 is a large and quite frequent form with many accessories. By omitting the outside loops the design would become much like those of a simpler and more distinct character, a fact easily tested. Fig. 106 shows a fine example from the Tuscarora reservation, having 15 large and small bosses. On either side, at the top are angular projections, terminating in embossed ends. These adjuncts belong to several. Fig. 111 is in the Richmond collection, and presents the feature mentioned in a less common way.

Fig. 116 is in the Buffalo collection, and is one of the rarest of these small forms, as well as one of the most beautiful. Did it stand alone, its character might not be understood, but in a series this is evident. The base has a border of small bosses, except in the middle, and the lateral projecting points at the top are terminated by others. The tracery adds some peculiar features to the design.

What was said of the character of the last seems partially true of the Tuscarora brooch in fig. 122. Its Masonic character is extremely obscure taken by itself, but a comparison with others on the same plate reveals a strong likeness to them.

Fig. 112 shows a very fine embossed brooch at Onondaga, having projections at the base. All vary in details and somewhat in outline. The simpler forms have a uniformly curved base; others add various ornaments.

The remaining illustrations of this class are from the writer's collection. They are usually large and have been quite abundant. Fig. 118 is highly conventional, but otherwise quite plain. Fig. 107 is the smallest that has met the writer's eye. It is embossed, and has the general character of some of the larger forms, but the base has a series of broad curves between the bosses. Both these are from Onondaga, and all but one of those which follow. Fig. 115 is a frequent and rather plain form, with some conventional features. The writer obtained four of these out of a number like them. Fig. 121 shows the original features of the class more plainly, and is very neat in design and finish. The base is a simple curve. Fig. 123 adds the interior bars found in several others, and has projections at the base. Fig. 152 was obtained at Cattaraugus, and is an elegant ornament in every way. At the top it has the rare feature of red glass neatly set. Fig. 159 shows one belonging to Mrs Converse, which has a glass setting near the center of the base. It is quite conventional. The glass setting has been observed in very few. So many of this class remain that the numbers must once have been great

One fine and unique article, obtained by the writer from an Onondaga woman, is shown in fig. 223. It is a large silver pendant, with a center of green glass of diamond form. The edges of the pendant are parallel with this, but have broad expansions opposite the angles of the glass, giving it the appearance of an equilateral and massive cross.

A few examples are given of a class once very abundant, and much used for adorning ribbons. They differ very little in outline, but very much in details and size. The figures illustrate the largest and smallest in the writer's collection. They might be called either quadrilateral or octagonal, for the broad angles form four short

sides having indentations. The sides proper consist of two bars, concave in outline, uniting so as to form a broader, ornamented surface at each angle. The buckle crosses from point to point. Those represented are all from the Onondaga and Tonawanda reservations. One unique form is not described.

Fig. 164 is the smallest the writer has seen. The angles are ornamented with lines and small circles. Fig. 163 is the largest in his collection, and may be as large as any. The surface ornaments are like the last, but the divisions of the angles are more protuberant than usual. Fig. 161 has surface ornamentation nearly all over. Fig. 162 is plainer. Fig. 165 and 167 have both bars ornamented, but not the angles. They are among the handsomest collected. Fig. 166 is much like these, but the angles are ornamented.

The writer has a few simple silver brooches, which are open and almost as slender as those which are simple rings or round buckles, but they are angular. Fig. 134 shows one of these which is square, but with the angles rounded. The tongue of the buckle reaches from one of these to that opposite. Fig. 135 is a similar one which has the angles indented.

The Onondagas call the brooch *Ah-ten-ha-né-sah*, shining ornament.

Headbands

The silver headband is a long strip of sheet silver, straight on the lower edge but usually with points of some kind on the upper, and with some pretty pattern between. The Onondagas call these *Ta-yone-non-aich-han-hust'-ah*. The whole headdress, which once often included this, was called *Gos-tó-ɑ:eh* by the Senecas. Part of this, as given by Morgan, but without feathers, is shown in fig. 157. Quite commonly, however, the headband encircled an ordinary hat, and in this way the writer has seen several used by one person, one being placed above another. Usually the wearer had but one, which served as a foundation for other ornaments. They were secured by strings in the holes at the ends.

They are now difficult to obtain. The writer's inquiries on several reservations have been unsuccessful, nor can they now be found among the Iroquois of Canada. That the State Museum has now several of these rare articles is due to the intelligent zeal

of Mrs H. M. Converse, whose opportunities have been exceptionally good, and whose own fine collection of silver ornaments is well known.

Fig. 386 is a Seneca headband drawn by the writer, and reduced from the actual size, like all those which follow. The six others illustrated are in the State Museum, and were carefully drawn there from the objects themselves. They are faithful representations of these.

Fig. 399 is 1¾ inches deep. The upper edge is cut into half circles, inside of each of which is a triangular perforation. Alternating with each of these, below is a line of vertical hearts, cut through the band. Another line of narrow openings is below these. Fluting and tracery elsewhere adorn the surface. Fig. 400 is narrower, and has embossed points on the upper edge. There is a central row of narrow elliptic openings, and some tracery. Fig. 401 has similar points above, narrow elliptic openings below these, and a line of open hearts farther down alternately point toward each other. Fluting and tracery also appear. This is about 1½ inches deep.

Fig. 402 is of the same depth, and has broad crenulated lobes above with tracery following the outline. In the center of the wide lobes are kidney-shaped or broad cordate perforations, pointing upward. Below each of these is an open diamond, cut horizontally and with a boss at each angle. Alternate with these are open hearts pointing upward. Fig. 403 is a narrow and simple band, the only decorations being fluting. Fig. 404 is 1¾ inches deep, and has very broad crenulated lobes above. There is a central line of alternate perforated stars and diamonds, with some fluting and tracery. The state collection of these is a very good representative one, but among those formerly used there must have been a great variety of detail.

Miscellaneous

Some ornaments occur which can not be classified. Fig. 156 is one of these, and was found on Indian hill in Pompey in the year 1901. It is of pewter and is V-shaped, with the angle rounded. There are protruding angular points and bosses. Another of similar character has more the form of a buckle. Broken iron, brass, and pewter buckles are sometimes found.

A handsome ornament of variously colored beads was also plowed up on Indian hill in Pompey the same year. The beads were kept in place by the brass wire on which they were strung. There was a large circle of these, with several pendants of beads attached. In 1902 the writer found there other glass beads, preserved on brass wire.

Fig. 224 is a large open heart of brass wire from Fort Plain. A wire loop is soldered in the angle above. Fig. 225 is a heavy copper pendant, found on the sand plains near Rome N. Y. Of this two views are given. The disk below has a large ring in the heavy loop above. This may have been of the 17th century, or early in the 18th.

Of about the same date is a fine brass ornament in Mr Stanford's collection, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches long by $1\frac{1}{3}$ wide. The upper half is lyre-shaped and open; the lower open and circular, but with a projection at the base. Both halves form one piece. In the openings hang open, six pointed stars, nearly filling the space. Fig. 395 shows this. It suggests an ornament from harness.

Fig. 285 is from Indian castle in Pompey, and is a flat and narrow piece of brass, rounded on the upper surface and terminating in a trefoil at the broader end. Near that end is an elliptic perforation, which may have been for attachment or suspension, but probably the former. Fig. 380 is a broader article of the same kind, and from the same place. The lobes of the trefoil are rounder, and the perforation is circular, as in most other cases. Still another is from the same place. In every case meeting the writer's eye, the base has been broken.

The Onondaga specimens might have been worn in the hair or attached to the dress, being straight. Mr Stanford's specimens, at Munnsville, require a different view. In two of these, longer than those from Onondaga, the base is abruptly bent upward. Each of these is about $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches long. A third is of quite a different character, and not far from the same length in a direct line. Two abrupt curves make the actual length much greater. Viewed from the side, it suggests the curved handle of an old-fashioned door-latch, or the handles sometimes used with shawl straps. About the middle of this curve it is nearly $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch wide. There can be little doubt that this was an ornamental handle of some kind. The others may have had a secondary use after being broken.

Fig. 286 is a neat little article of brass, found a mile west of Canajoharie. The portion ornamented with cross lines has the outline of a broad trowel, and there is a narrow rectangular base. There are no present means of attachment, and it may once have been longer, though showing no signs of breakage.

Fig. 287 is a slender and angular piece of copper, which is evidently a fragment. Its general form suggests that it may have been one of the tobacco tongs, often given to the Indians. This came from Indian hill in Pompey. A heavier one, of slightly different form, is in the Stanford collection.

One odd relic from a recent Cayuga site is a silver watch seal of considerable size. The handle is in the form of a dolphin, and the seal has crossed arrows between the letters K. M. This might have come among the spoils of war, by gift or purchase. With its Indian owner it was merely a pretty ornament, easily suspended and worn. Such an object would be attractive to any savage mind when plunder was to be had. But nothing that an Indian might carry off need excite surprise. When the Huron towns were destroyed in Canada in 1649 and 1650, and two of the missionaries were killed, the Onondagas carried off two little books belonging to the latter, and Father Le Moyne recovered them at Onondaga in 1654.

Though not ornaments, there are figured here several unique recent copper relics which have been lent the writer at the last moment. They are in form like the old bone needles, flat and perforated, and of interest as a survival of an early form in a later material, like the conical and triangular arrowheads of copper. As nothing of the kind has ever been described before, it seemed best to include them now. These are from Indian hill in Pompey, and they have been reported from no other place. They are about as thick as needles of bone, but rather wider than most of these. Fig. 376 is broad, and is broken at the perforation. Fig. 377 is narrower and has a rounder point. It had two perforations. Fig. 378 is longer, and has a long and narrow hole. Fig. 379 is unperforated, and is pointed at both ends. Such needles have been used in netting snowshoes. These have since been placed in the State Museum. Their age is not far from 250 years, and they are all that the writer has anywhere seen.

Addenda

Since the bulletin on bone articles was prepared, a number of interesting relics have been reported. The finest of these are in the small collections of L. William H. Klinkhart and his friends, in Canajoharie N. Y., and were all found in that vicinity. The writer has examined some of them. One small and broad bone comb has three human heads projecting above the upper rim in a curved line. This is about 1⅜ inches high. Another terminates above in a long-bodied quadruped in a standing posture. Below the opening are two human faces. This is more than double the length of the last, being over 3 inches high. It is from Wagner's hollow. Another may be a pin, or part of a comb with a single long and perfect tooth remaining. One tooth certainly has been lost, but the fracture has been repaired, and the part is neatly finished where it might have widened into a comb. The top curves, and two human faces are in the open work below the upper rim, as in the last. This fine article is 3⅝ inches high, and came from the Otstungo site. Its importance is in showing the resemblance of some work on this early site to some of clearly historic date.

A human figure of horn has the hands under the chin, and the head is disproportionately large. It is 2½ inches high and was found at Wagner's hollow. There are the usual awls; perforated beaver and elk teeth, cylindric bone beads, perforated deer phalanges, some of which are fine. The longest awl is over 8 inches in length. One conical bone point has a lateral perforation. This article is over 3 inches long, and came from the recent site in Rice's woods.

One fine bone harpoon has two long barbs on one side, and is perforated. At the broad base are longitudinal grooves, like those on a harpoon of Mr Richmond's from the Mohawk valley, but more and longer. Another of the same length is about half as wide at its plain base. This has two barbs on one side, and on that edge is a projection in which is the perforation. These notable harpoons are each 6⅜ inches long, and come from Wagner's hollow, where others have been found.

The occurrence of a much worked *Fulgur carica* on the Cayadutta site is of interest, as marine shells are rare on early Iroquois sites in New York. The base, outer whorl and some projections have been cut away, and a long slit cut in the remainder toward the base. The

whole shell shows age. This was found by Mr Percy M. Van Epps of Glenville. In his collection and those of his friends, the writer found many interesting articles, mostly of stone. As the Mohawks had no towns in Schenectady county, pottery is rare there, as well as recent articles.

The Bigelow collection has received a number of the curious ornaments made from the concave and convex ends of bones, pierced for suspension. They are from Pompey sites of the pre-colonial period. One retains traces of red paint. One massive and carved bone bead is from the Christopher site. Mr Bigelow has also recently obtained a fine tube from near Three River Point, and a banner stone from Savannah N. Y. Both are of striped slate. A bayonet slate weapon and a remarkable flattened bird amulet are among his recent additions.

Mr Theodore Stanford, of Munnsville, has a fine cylindric bone arrowhead with barbs, and also a worked bone, about half as thick as wide. This is 3 inches long and an inch wide at the broad end, which is notched all around. Near that end is a lateral perforation. The general form is flat, with rounded edges.

The writer has also examined Mr R. D. Loveland's fine collection in Watertown N. Y., which is rich in clay pipes from neighboring forts. A few have stems fitted to bowls which were found on the same sites and are of the same character. They are not always certainly parts of the same article, though of the same age. Some perfect examples are unique, as well as some imperfect. One of the former, a small clay pipe, is like a high shoe in outline, but much compressed. Dr A. A. Getman has a broken one of similar form. In September 1901, the writer was present when Mr Oren Pomeroy took out of a Jefferson county camp site a fine clay pipe bowl, having a human face before and behind. This form is rare. On the same visit, Dr R. W. Amidon presented him a small clay pipe bowl, perforated for the insertion of a stem.

In the Loveland collection one peculiar long and broad flat awl has deep notches on each edge above the base. Another fine example has been beautifully mottled by fire. A bone arrowhead is one of the remarkable articles in this collection. It is angularly shouldered but not strictly barbed, and has a long and moderately slender perforated tang. Recently Mr Loveland obtained a pipe

resembling fig. 220 of the bulletin on earthenware, with several fragments. Three examples of a curious canoe-shaped pipe bowl have also been found by him. Unio shell beads are also now in his collection.

Two articles are of high interest, though simple, and will be illustrated later. They are of carved wood, which fire has charred but not destroyed. With one exception they are probably the oldest remains of this kind in New York.

Several interesting collections have been examined in and about Glenville N. Y., through the kindness of Mr Percy M. Van Epps. In one of these is a woman's knife unfinished, of the red slate of Washington county, showing that it was made not far away.

Several fine bird pipes of stone have been found, one of which is in Col. Camp's collection at Sacketts Harbor, the gem of which is a massive and highly polished stone pipe resembling a flying squirrel. It is $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, by $2\frac{5}{8}$ broad. He has also a thin and highly polished stone tube. A beautiful shell gorget comes from Savannah N. Y., and is nearly 4 inches across. Other interesting finds will not be mentioned now.

At the last moment a supplementary note seems required. In September 1903 Mr John Mackay, of Niagara Falls, opened an ossuary of the Neutral nation close by the Tuscarora reservation, of the approximate date of 1620. Iron axes and brass kettles were found in this, shell and metallic ornaments, sword blades and pipes, with a few glass beads. The metallic beads were made from strips cut from old kettles and rolled into cylinders, from 2 to 11 inches in length. Of more interest were 24 rude rings of the same material, most of them rolled into cylinders and bent into a circular form. A flat one served for a finger ring and still encircled the finger bone. The others were larger, from $\frac{7}{8}$ to $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches across, some overlapping and some just meeting at the ends. A large one is $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches across, doubled, beaten flat, and then brought into a circle like the rim of a hat. A strip of metal is folded over the ends and also beaten flat.

The writer obtained one unique brooch too late to figure or describe, to which reference has been made on page 94. It may be called of a diamond form, each side being a narrow bar, curved over outside at each end and forming a short hook. It measures $1\frac{1}{8}$ by $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

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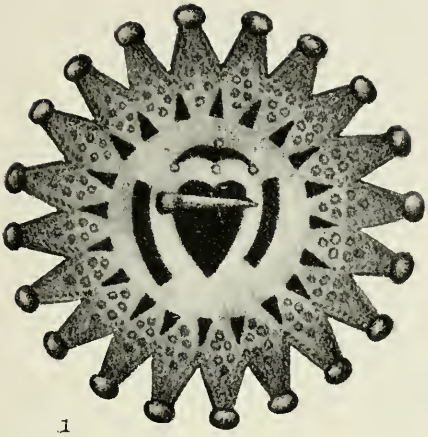

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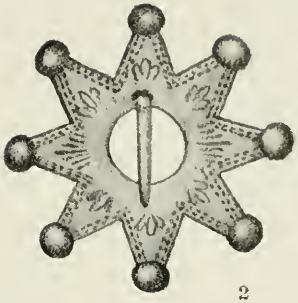

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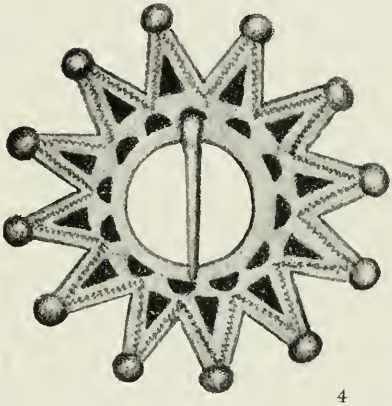

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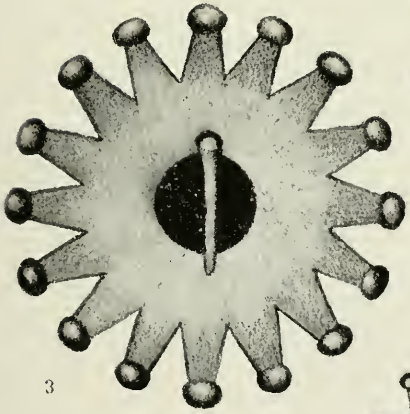

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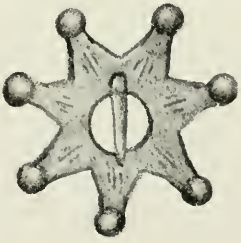

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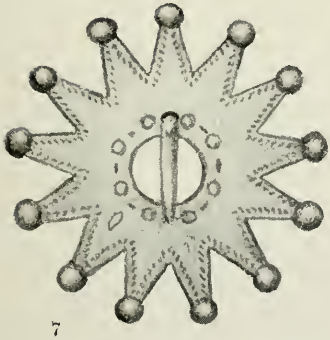

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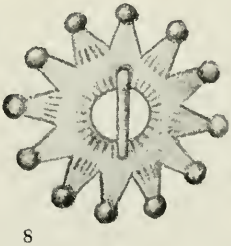

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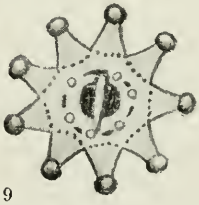

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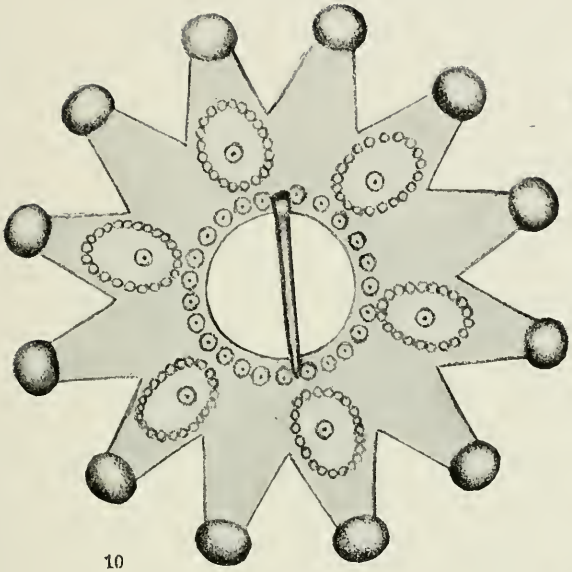

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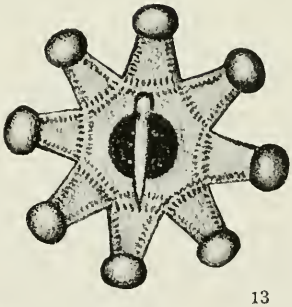

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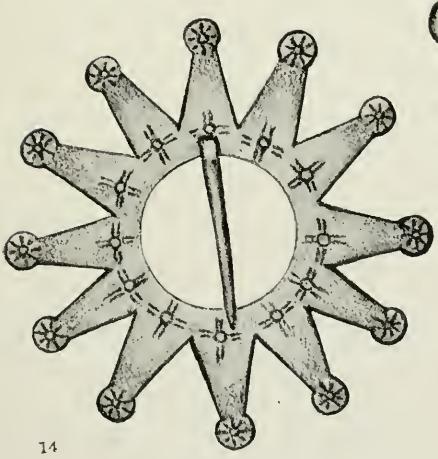

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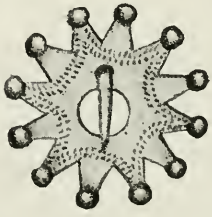

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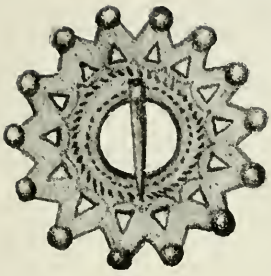

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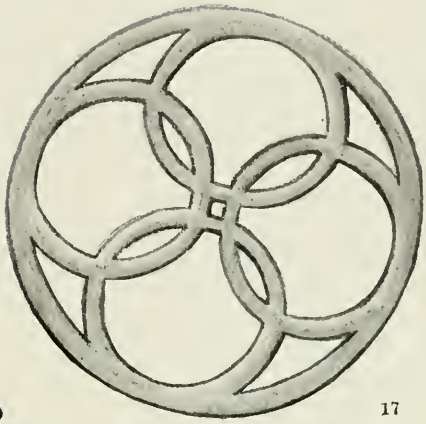

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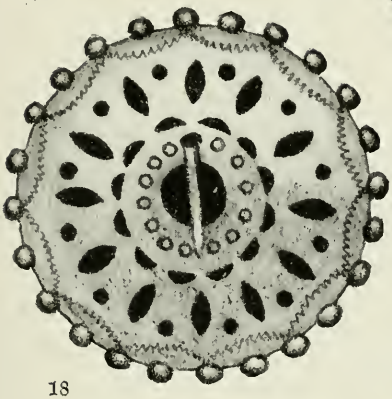

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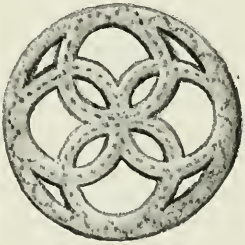

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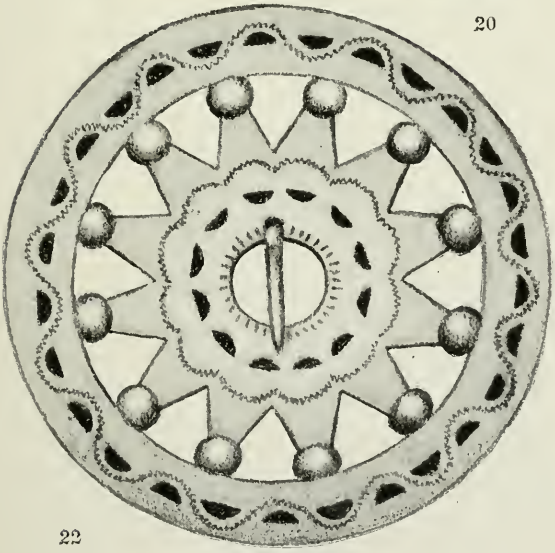

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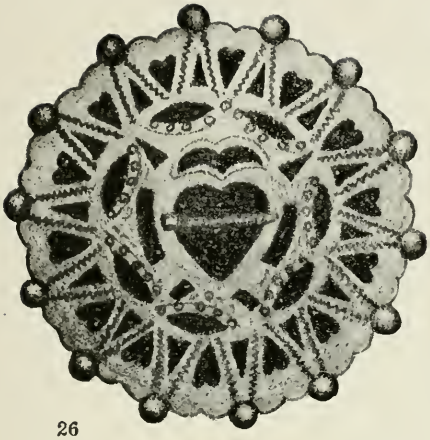

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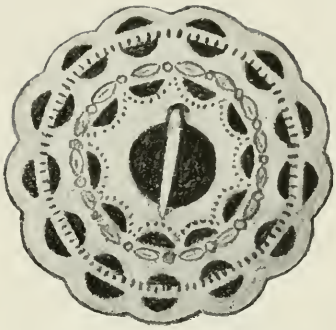

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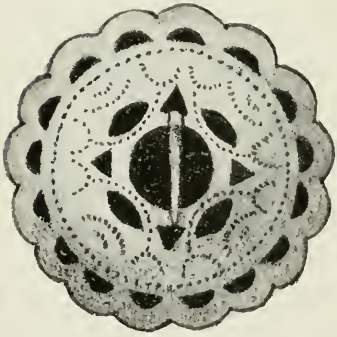

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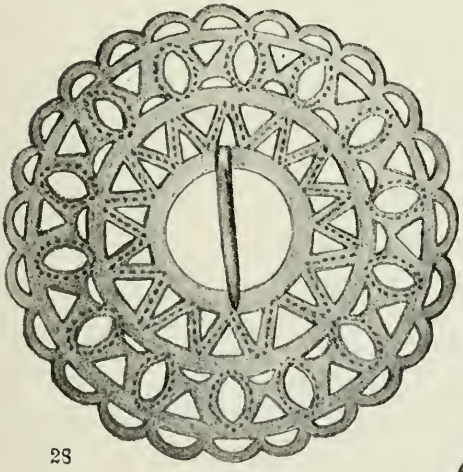

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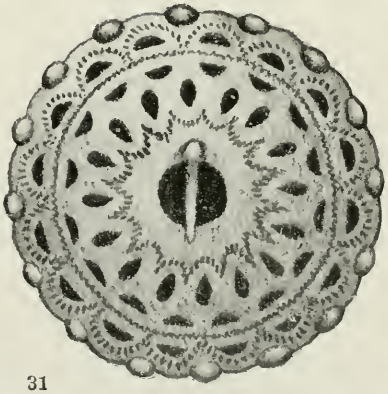

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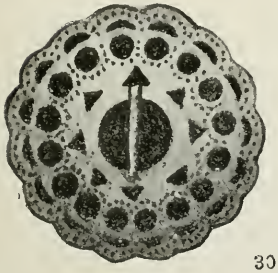

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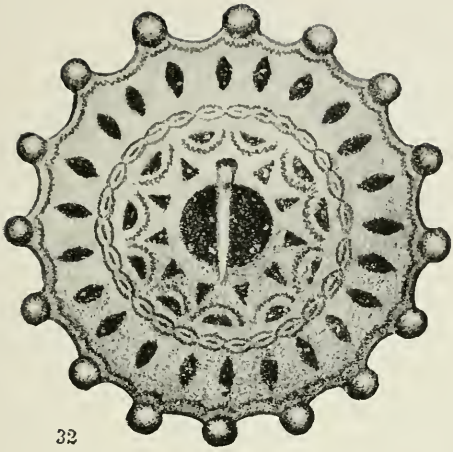

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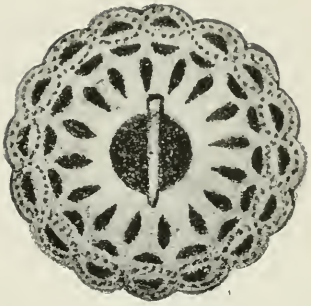

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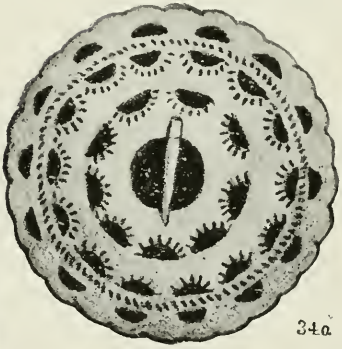

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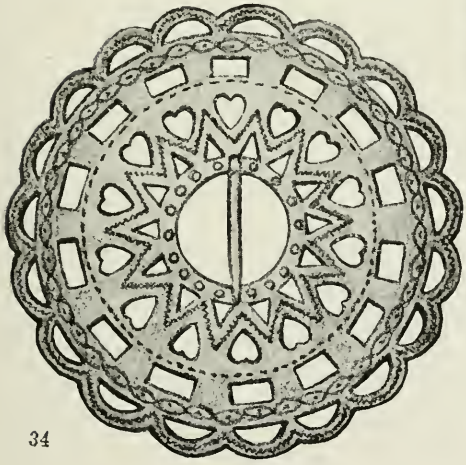

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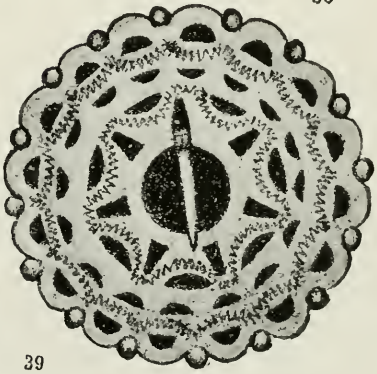

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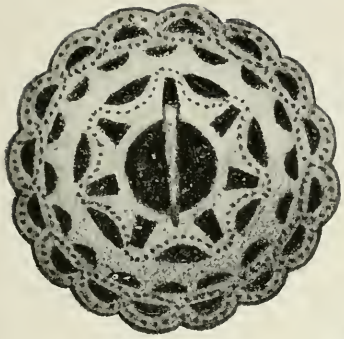

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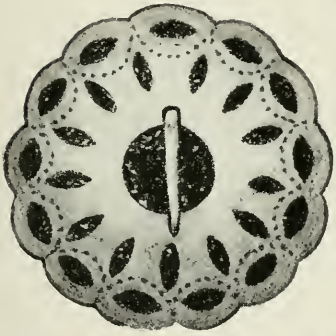

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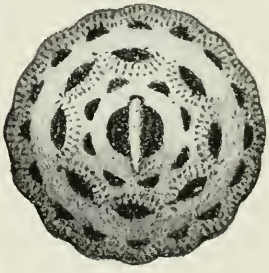

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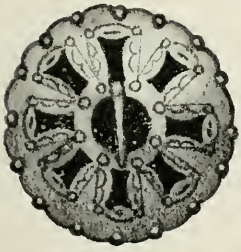

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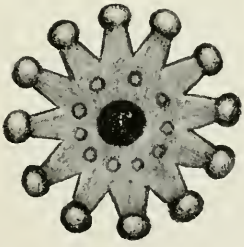

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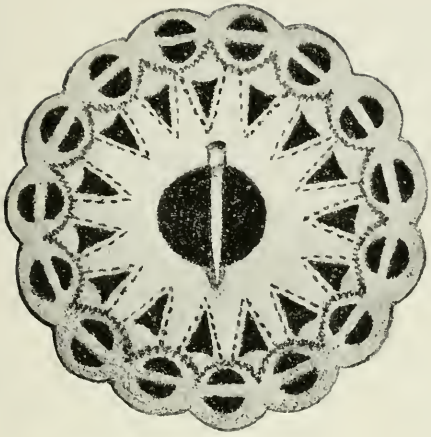

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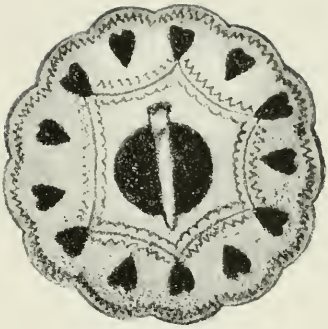

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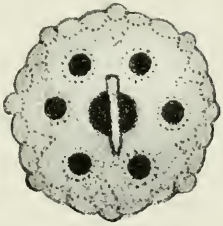

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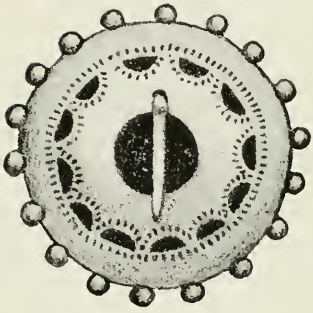

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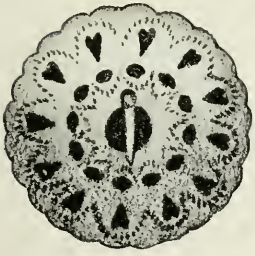

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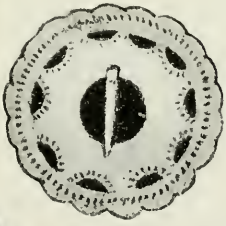

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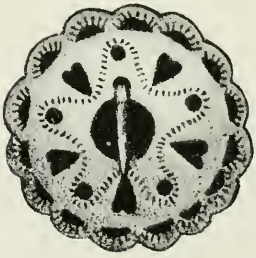

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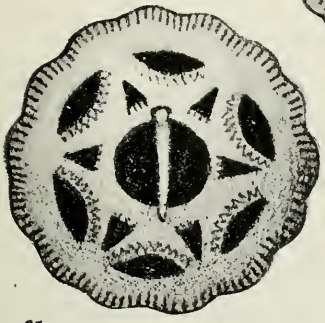

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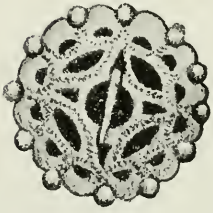

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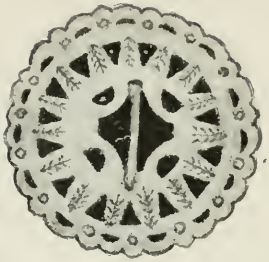

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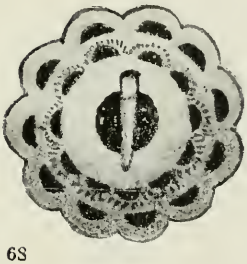

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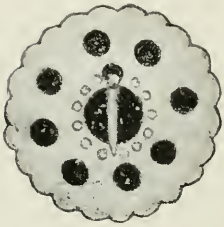

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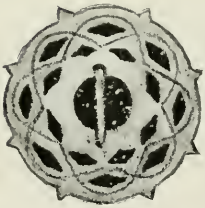

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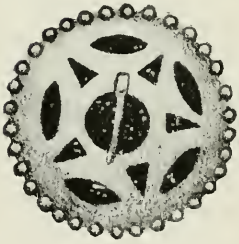

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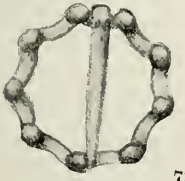

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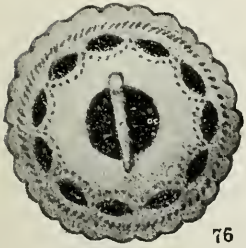

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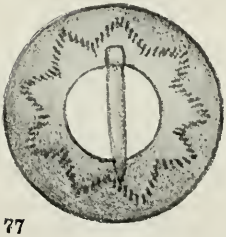

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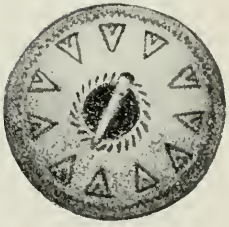

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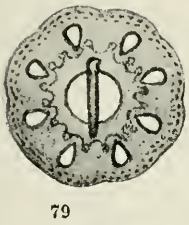
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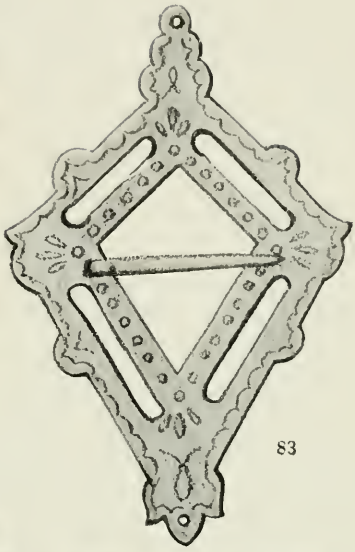
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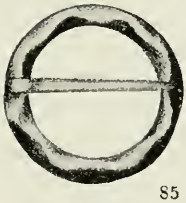
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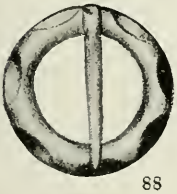
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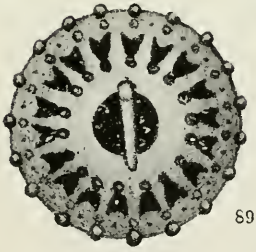
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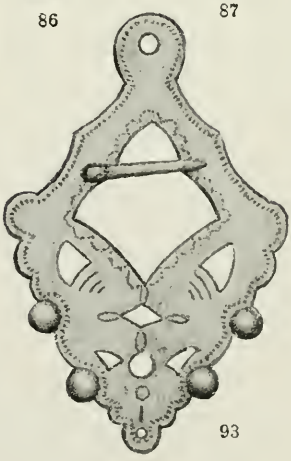
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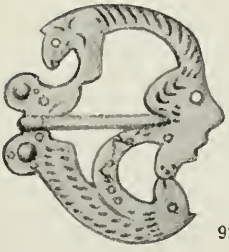
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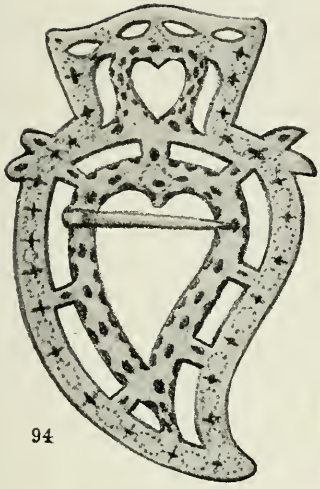

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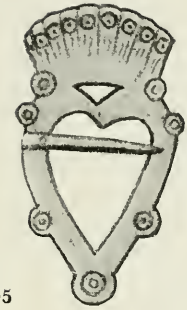

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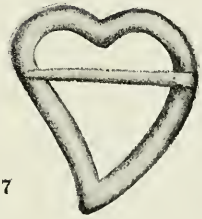

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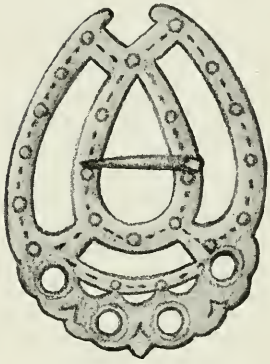

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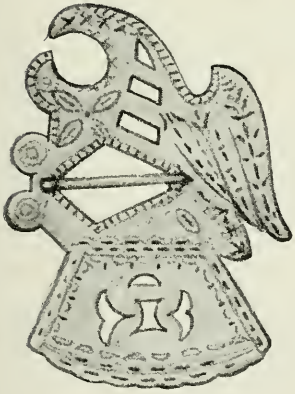

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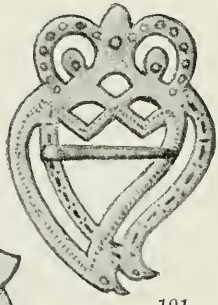

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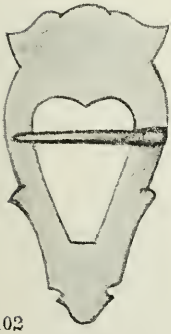

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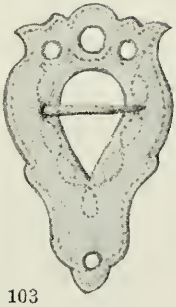

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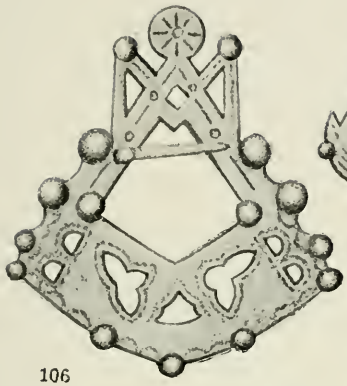

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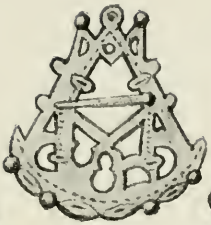

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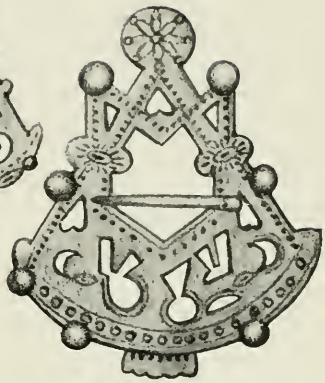

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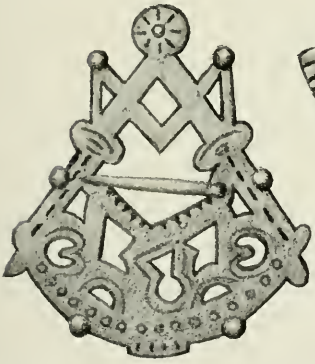

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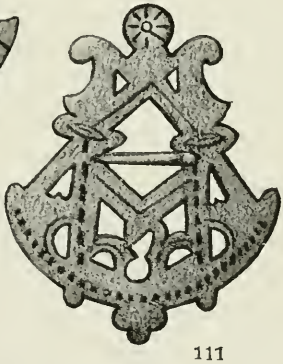

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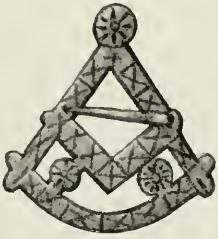

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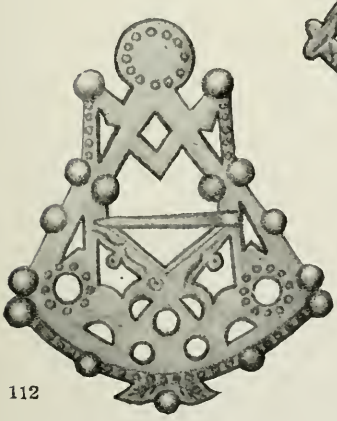

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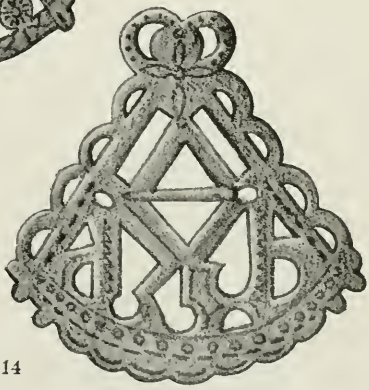

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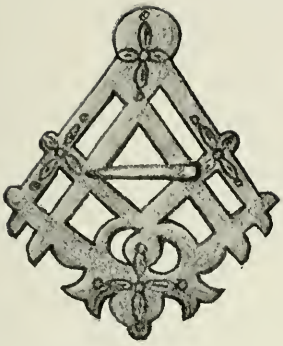

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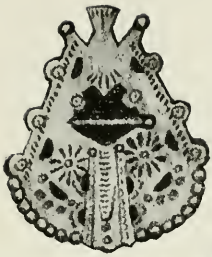

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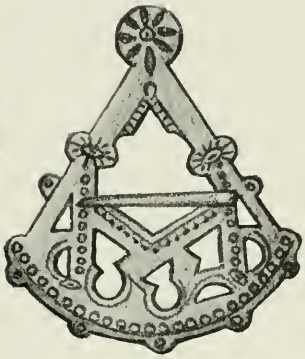

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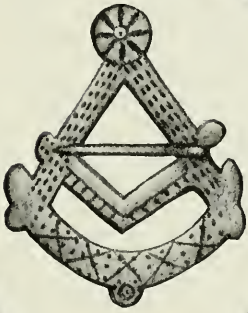

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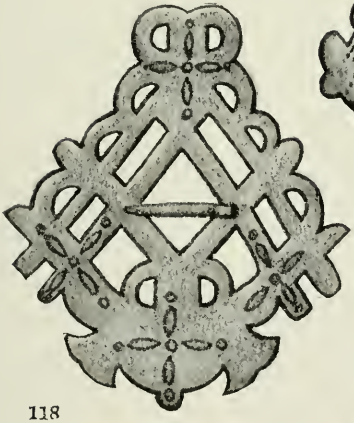

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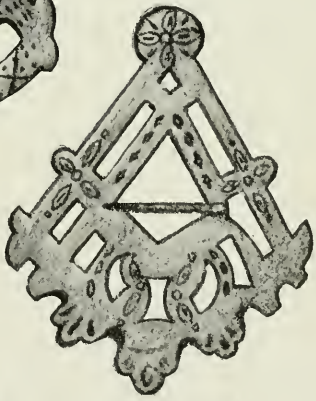

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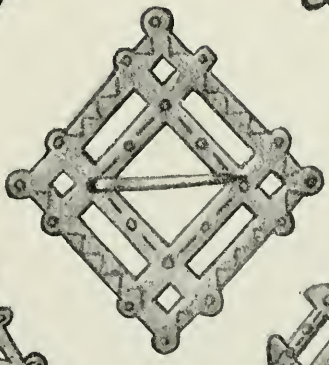

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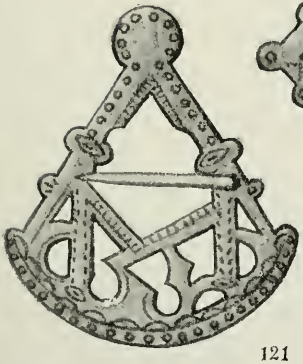

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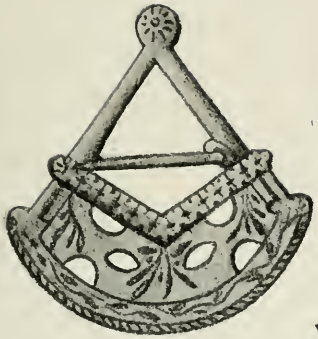

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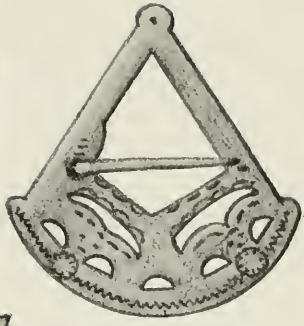

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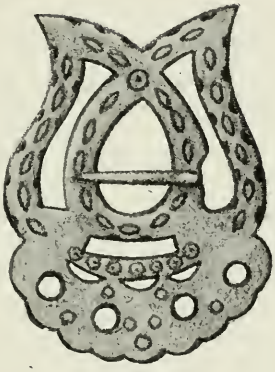

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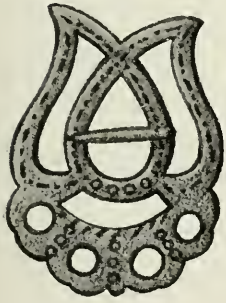

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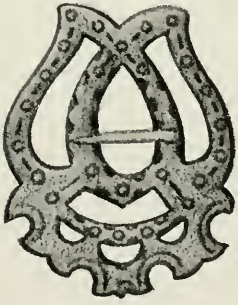

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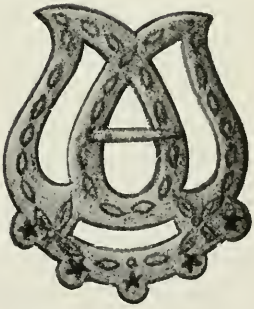

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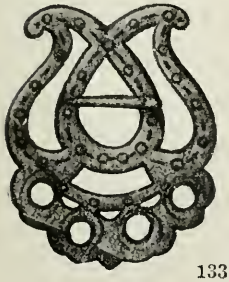

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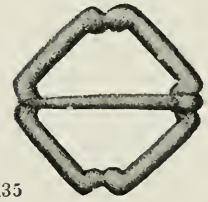

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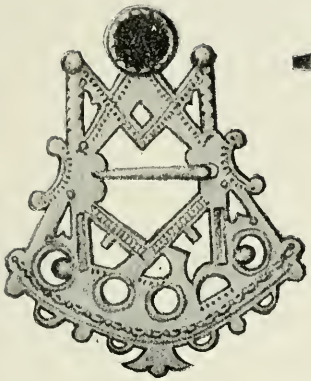

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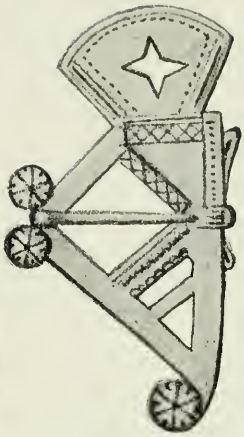

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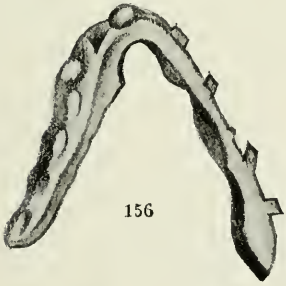

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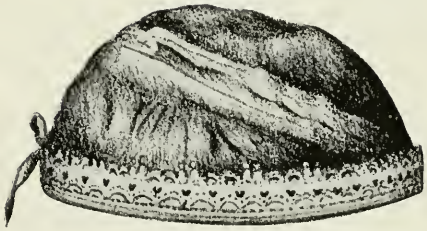

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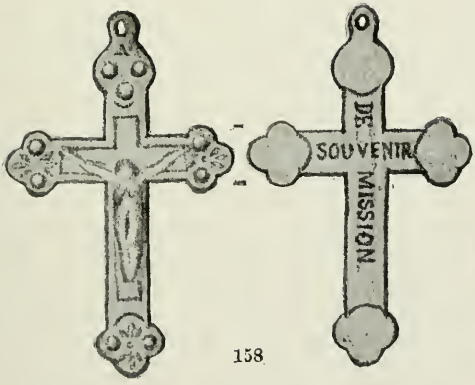

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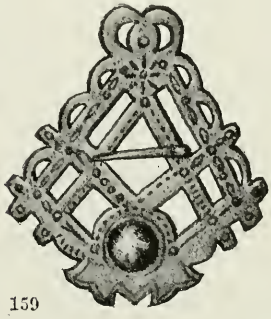

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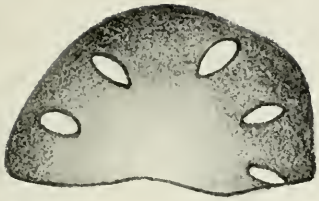

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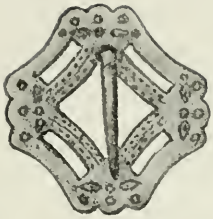

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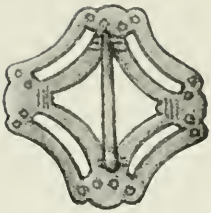

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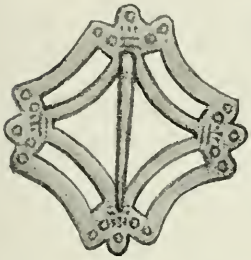

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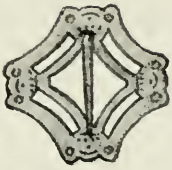

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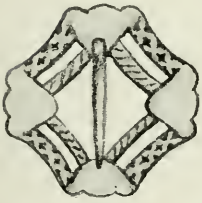

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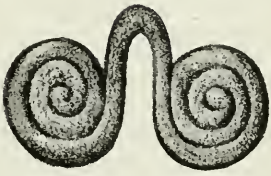

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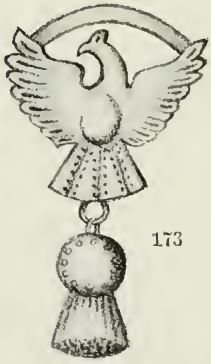

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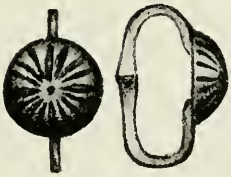

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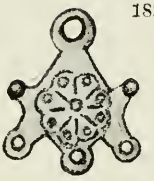

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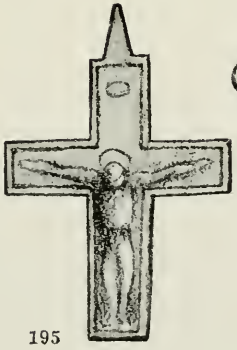

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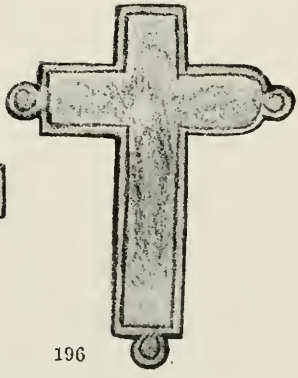

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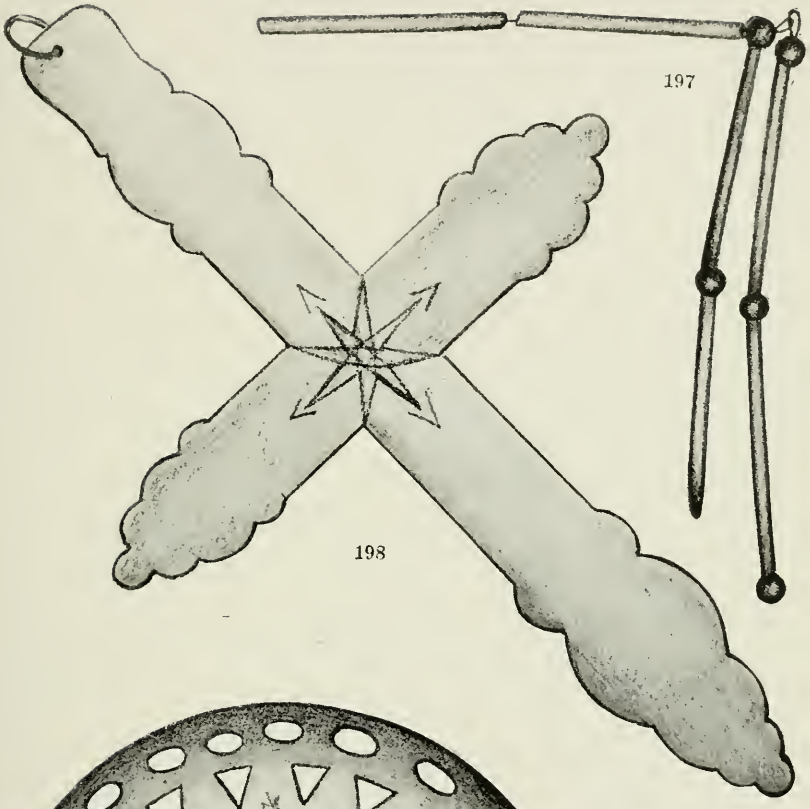

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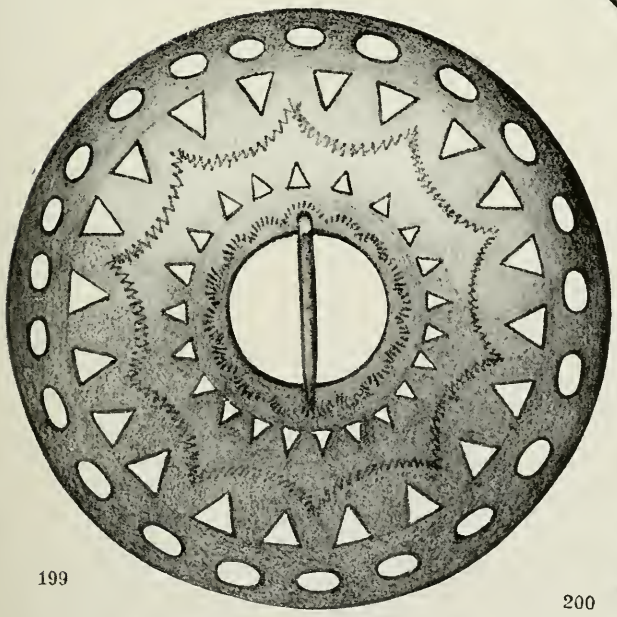

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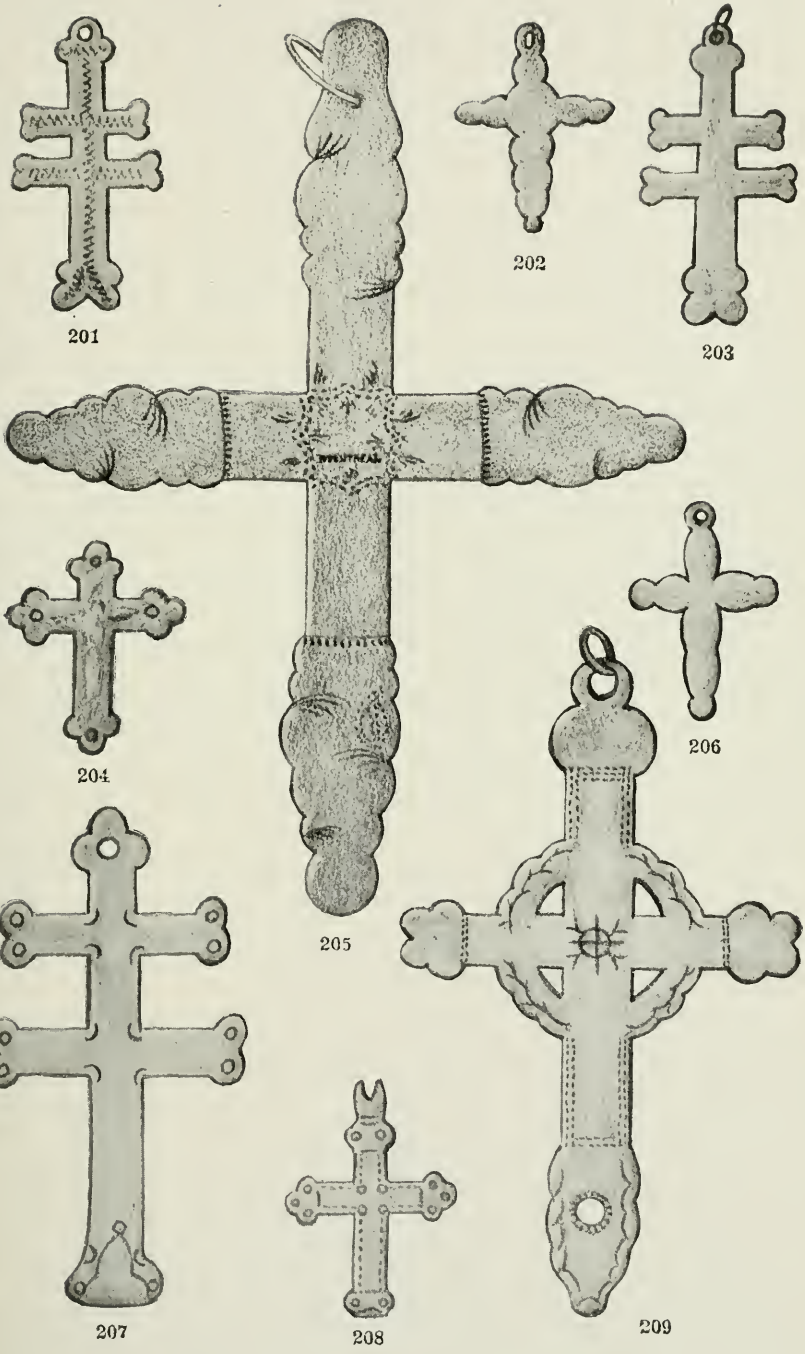
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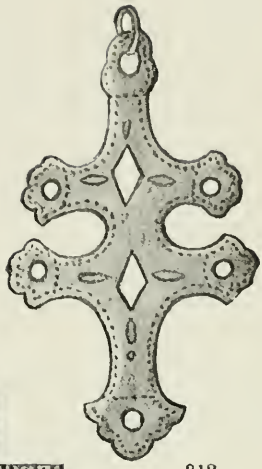

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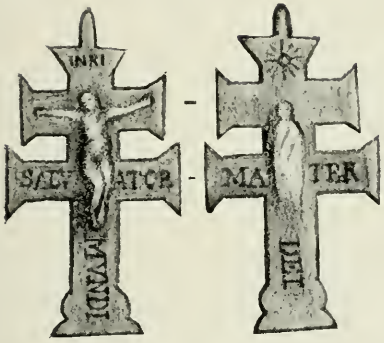

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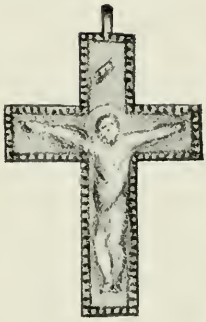

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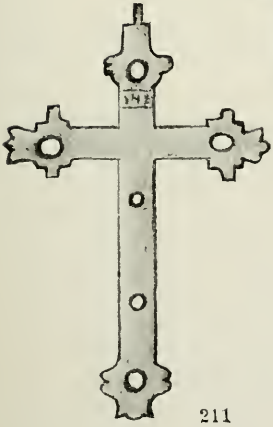

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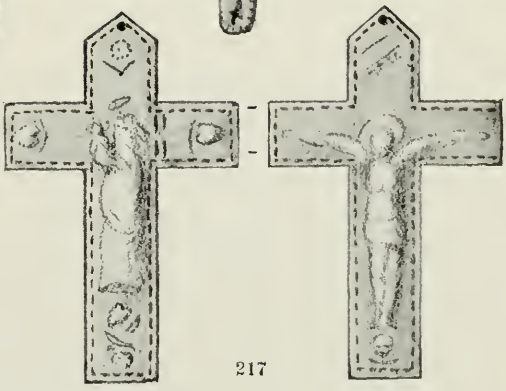

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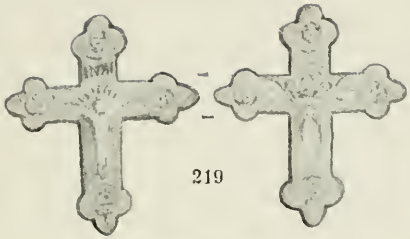

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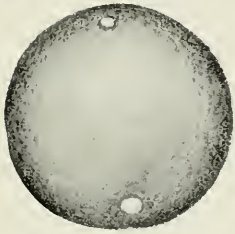

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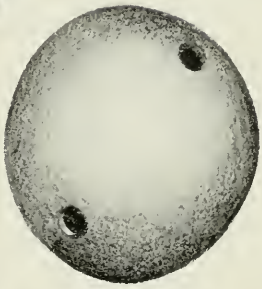

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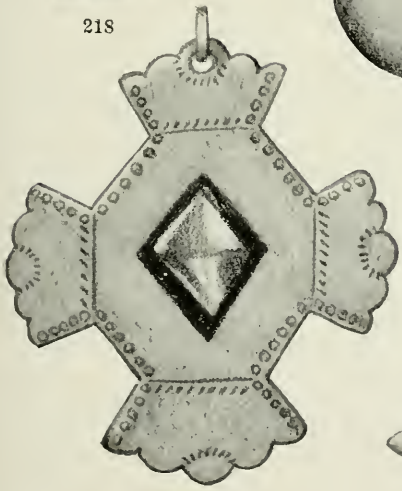

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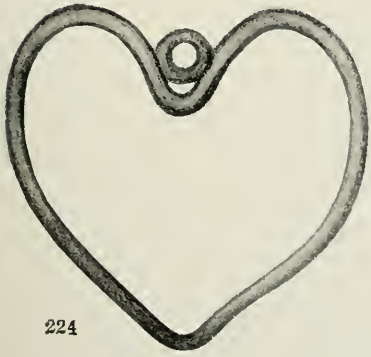

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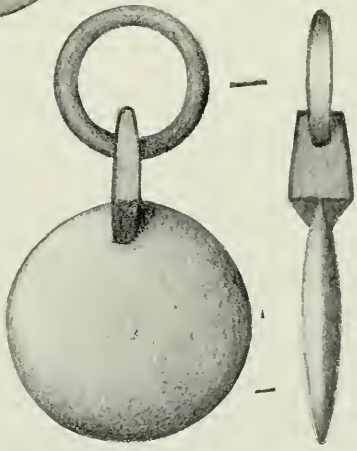

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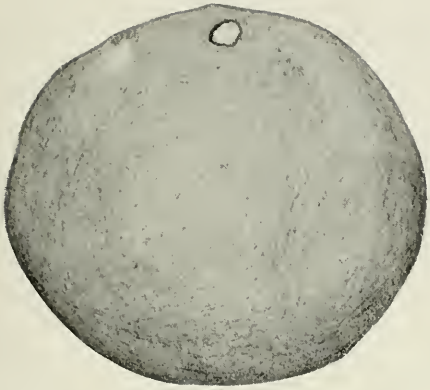

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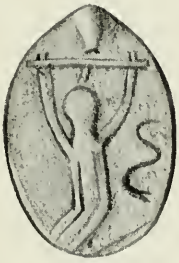

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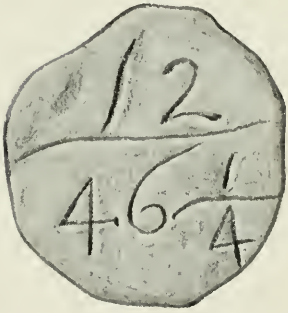

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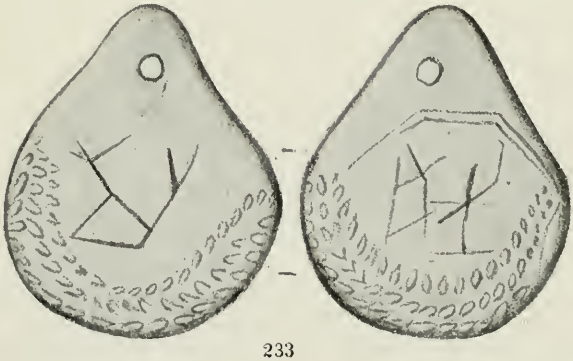

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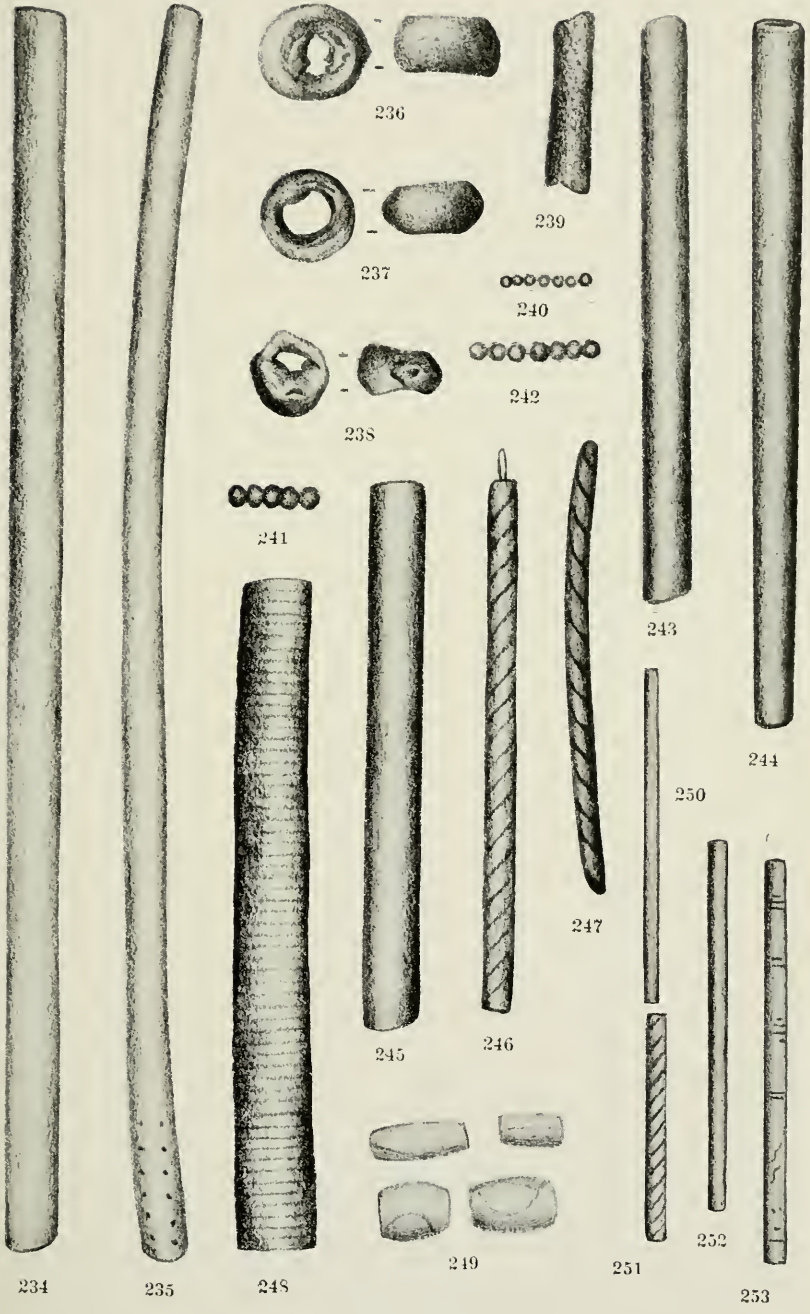
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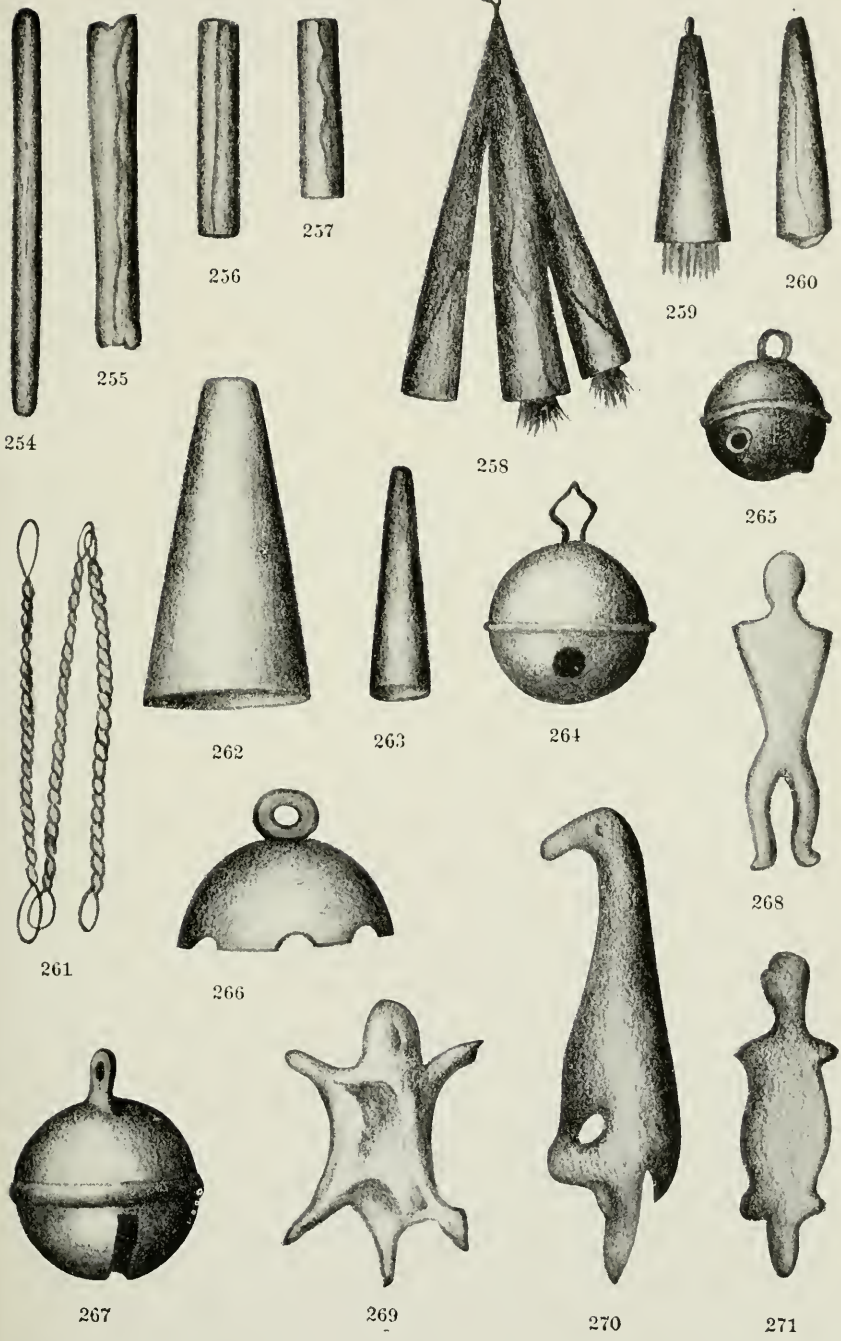
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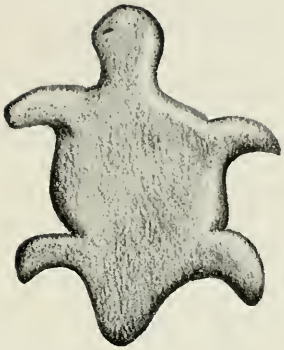

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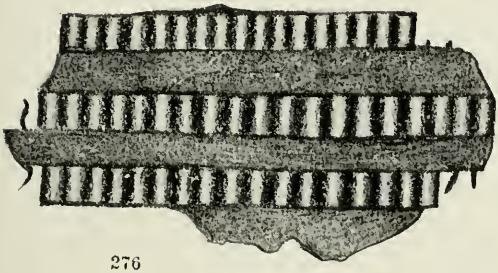

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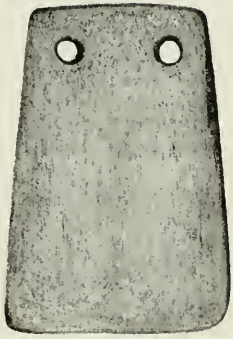

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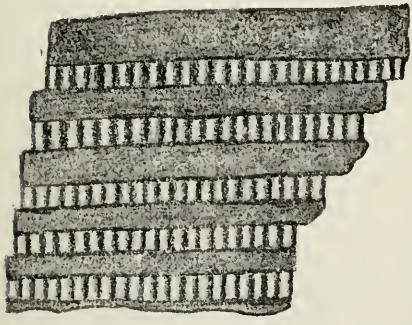

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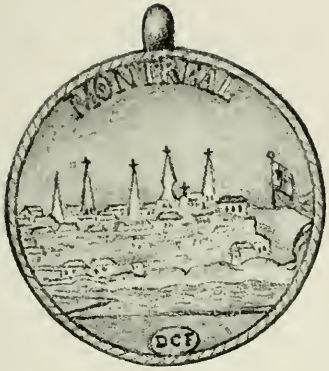

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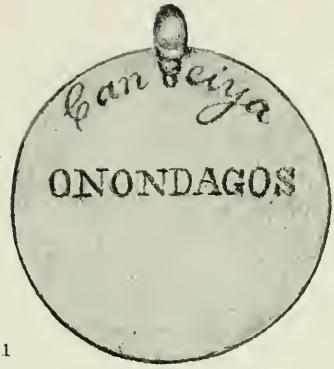

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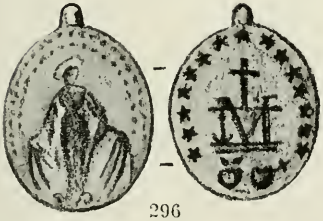

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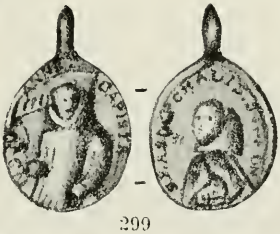

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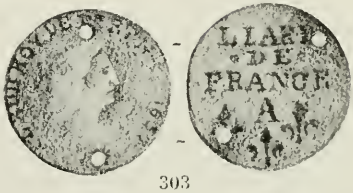

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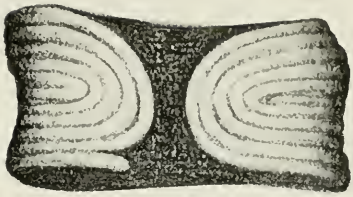

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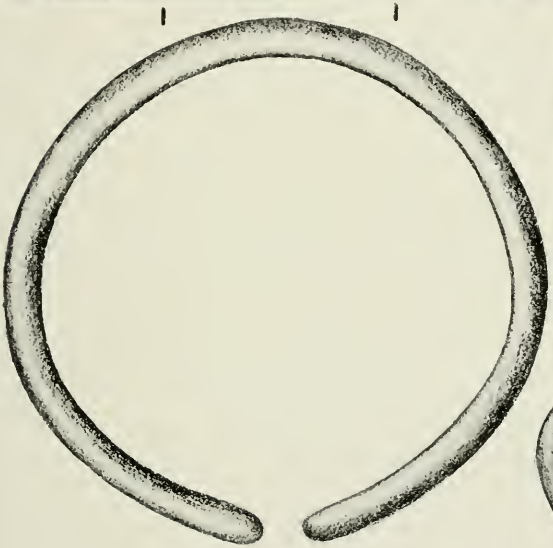

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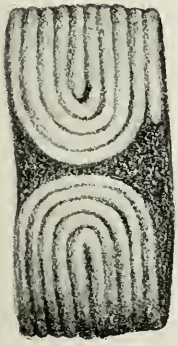

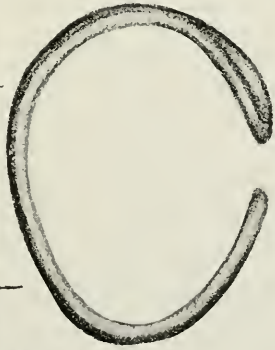

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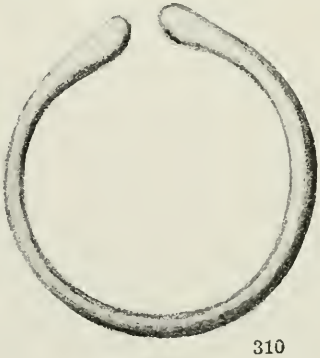

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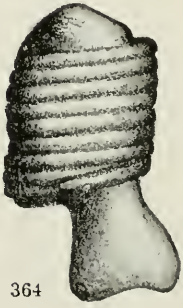
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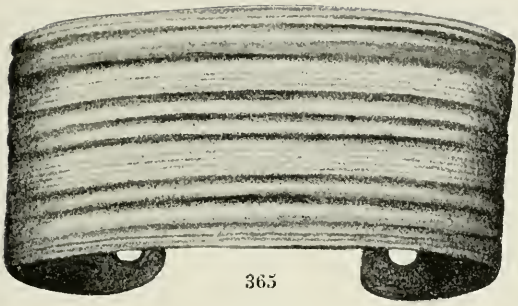

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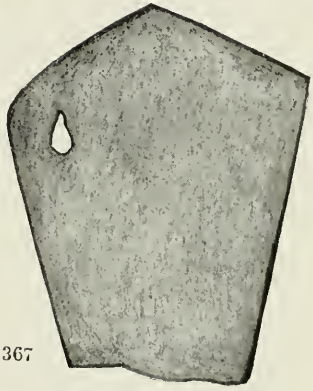

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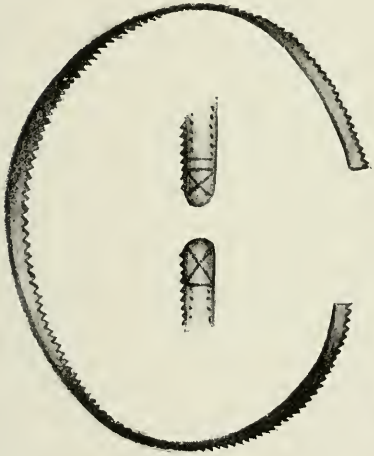

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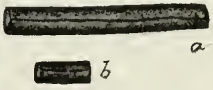

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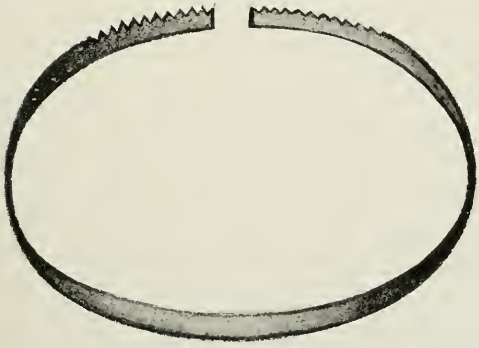

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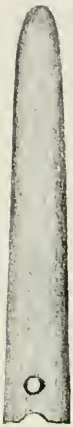

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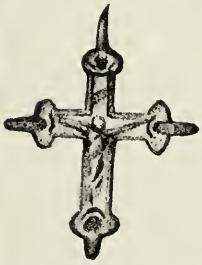

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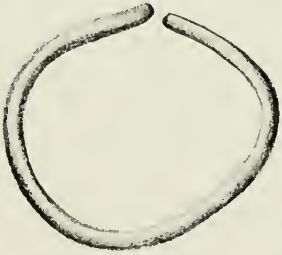

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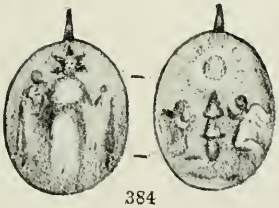

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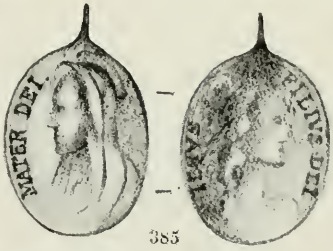

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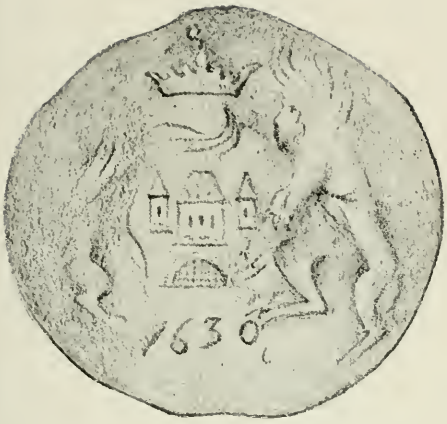

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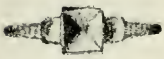

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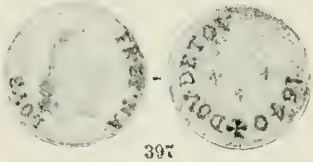

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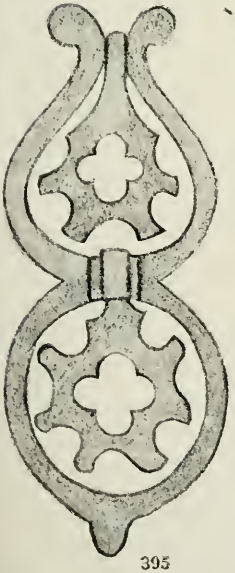

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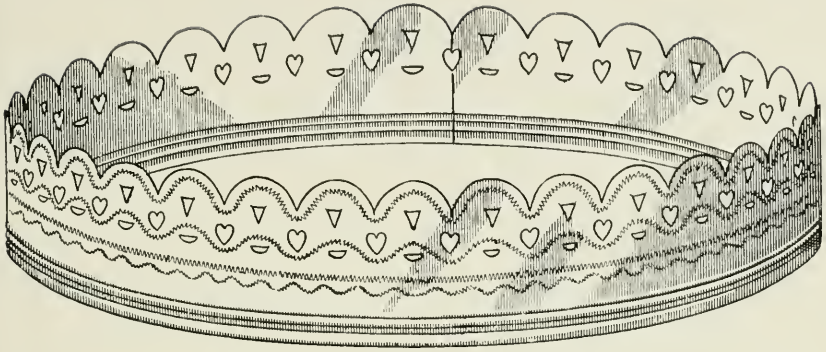

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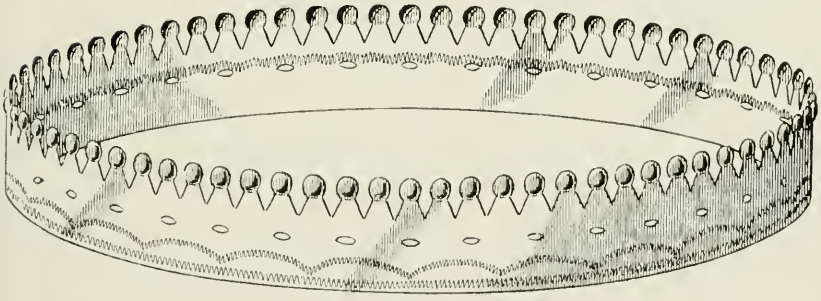

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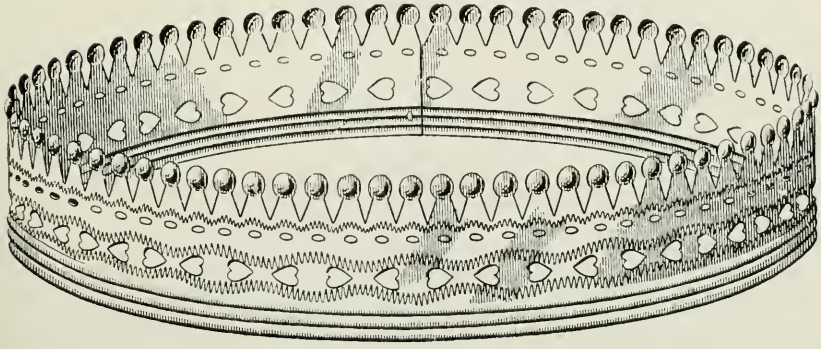

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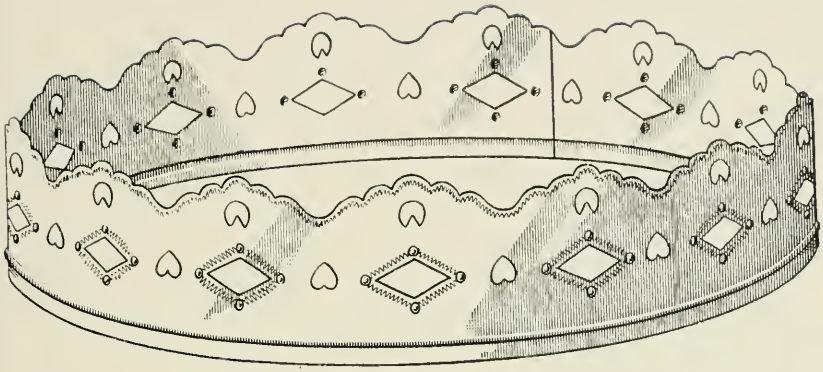

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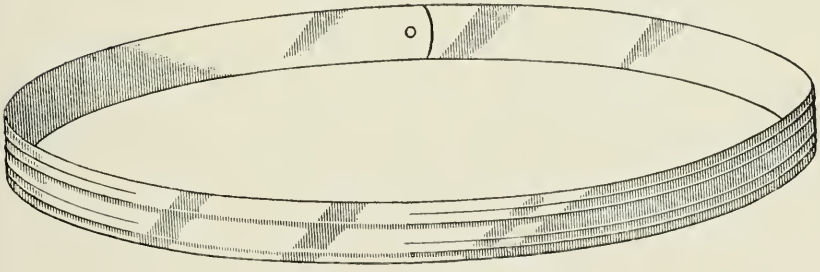

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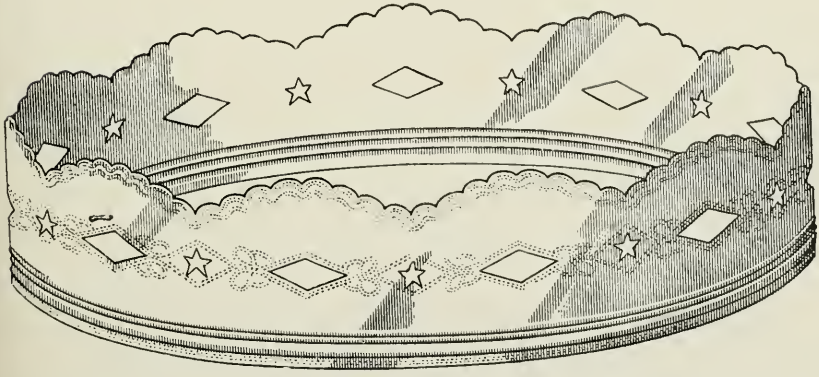

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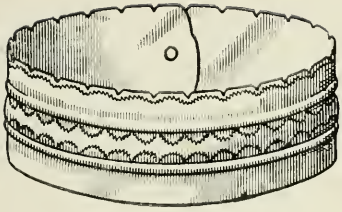

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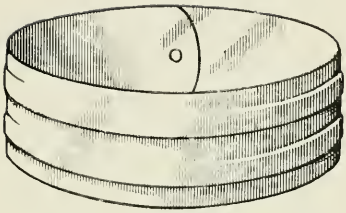

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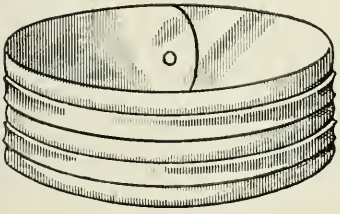

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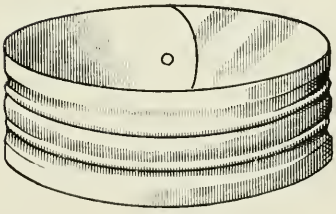

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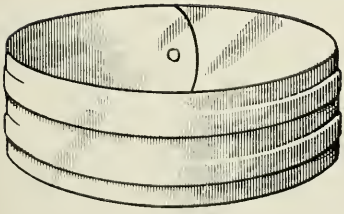

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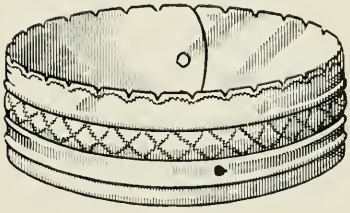

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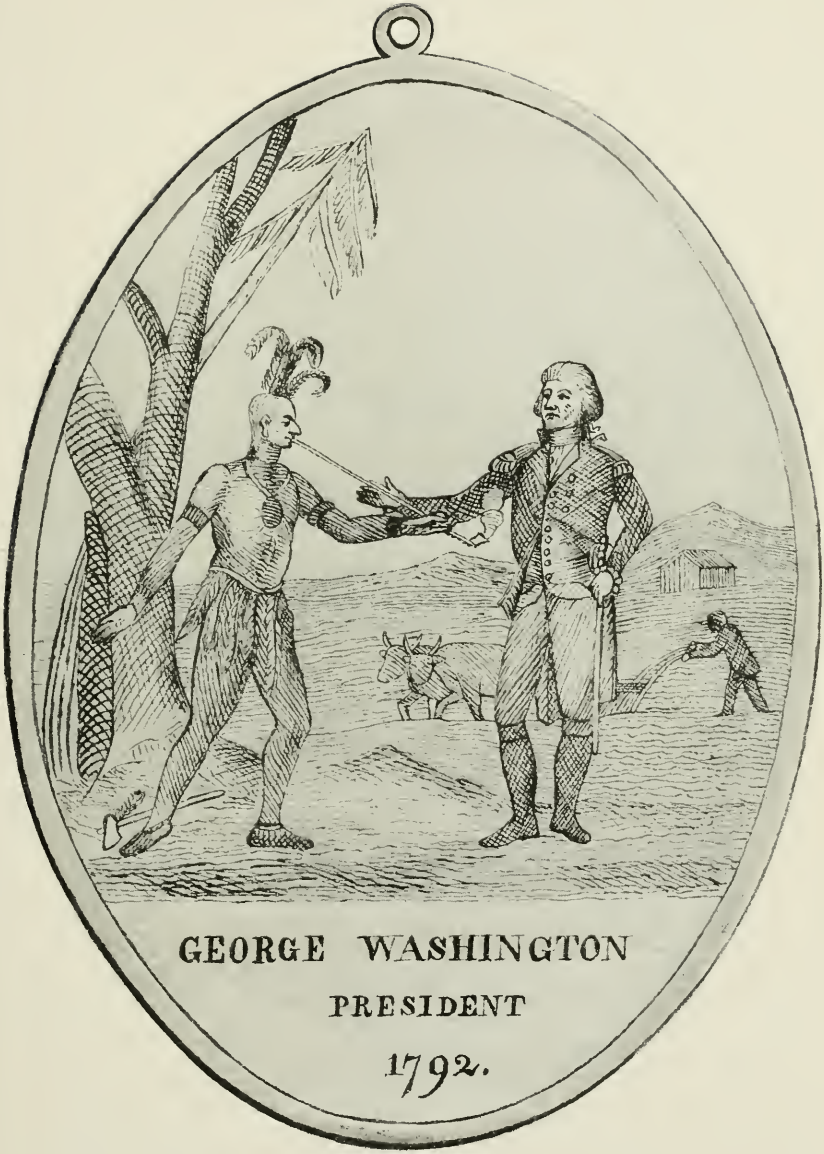
GEORGE WASHINGTON
PRESIDENT
1792.

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Published monthly by the

University of the State of New York

BULLETIN 329 FEBRUARY 1905

New York State Museum

Bulletin 78

ARCHEOLOGY 9

A HISTORY OF
THE NEW YORK IROQUOIS

NOW COMMONLY CALLED THE SIX NATIONS

BY

WILLIAM M. BEAUCHAMP S.T.D.

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University of the State of New York

New York State Museum

Bulletin 78

ARCHEOLOGY 9

A HISTORY OF THE NEW YORK IROQUOIS

NOW COMMONLY CALLED THE SIX NATIONS

NOTE

The interest displayed by the citizens of New York in the bulletins prepared by Dr Beauchamp on the various implements and ornaments used by the New York Indians and his bulletin on their tribal distribution, has led me to suggest to him the preparation of a history of the Six Nations. This has accordingly been written and is now at the service of all those interested in these early inhabitants of the State, who, while at times they were much to be dreaded as enemies, have probably in one way or another, greatly aided the white man in his early attempts at settlement. Unable to assimilate civilization, they have gradually passed away and left to their successors, predominantly Anglo-Saxon, the task of recording for posterity what is known of their history, distribution and customs.

FREDERICK J. H. MERRILL

PREFACE

The need of a simple, systematic and yet comprehensive history of the Six Nations, or Konosioni, has long been felt, and one seems required for the study of New York antiquities. In the following pages all events have been placed in due order and taken from original sources. Secondhand errors have been avoided or corrected when possible, and the general history has been brought down to the present day. The results of field exploration have been briefly stated, because treated to some extent in previous papers. It must also be remembered that many things are set forth in a sentence or paragraph of which we have ample details, sufficient to fill many pages with humorous, pathetic or tragic incidents. To give these would require many volumes, and it seems better to be now content with orderly arrangement and brief details, referring the deeper student to original sources. It has not been thought necessary to verify every statement or quotation from these by direct references. Charlevoix, Champlain, the Jesuit *Relations,* Colden, Zeisberger and others are sufficiently indicated, but most statements relating to New York and Canada are from the various colonial documents of New York, published by the State; and those on Pennsylvania from its archives and colonial records, which are easily found by their dates. Parkman's graphic works are referred to as valuable and of easy access, but his sources of original information have been used in preference.

While many events have been summarized, others of less apparent importance have been given more fully, because they bear on the ordinary life of the people, or the character and appearance of notable men. How some warriors and orators looked and acted, how some councils were conducted, may be as interesting as to tell how many were killed and scalped in inglorious forest fights. In national progress the character of one man may show that of many, and in early Iroquois history there were men of dignity, virtue and great natural gifts.

It is possible to make a map of all known Iroquois towns which would be approximately correct, but the names of many are unknown and the dates are conjectural. Mr L. H. Morgan issued one of much interest, but it covers only one period, is largely traditional and has no reference to early times. On the whole, it has been thought better to give a series of maps from Champlain onward, replacing the obscure names of places by numeral references to lists admitting of some explanation. The well known Jesuit map of the Iroquois country in 1665 is omitted from these because of its lack of details, and others for other reasons. Those given are among the best of early maps, and interesting and peculiar features will be found in all. At the suggestion of Dr F. J. H. Merrill, however, a map of probable tribal distribution about 1600, has been prepared by the writer.

W. M. Beauchamp

Syracuse, March 25, 1904

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A HISTORY OF THE NEW YORK IROQUOIS, NOW COMMONLY CALLED THE SIX NATIONS

Chapter I

Iroquois and Algonquins. Distribution. Iroquois legends. Religious belief. Creative myths. Stories of origin and migration. Real migrations. Huron-Iroquois family. Language. Opinions on this.

When Europeans first reached the interior of New York, it was occupied by two Indian families, known as Iroquois and Algonquin. The latter held all the Hudson river valley, the highlands below the Catskill mountains, and all of Long Island, being closely related to the New England Indians. The former occupied the valley of Schoharie creek, and westward to the Genesee river, with vacant territory beyond. On their southwestern line were the Susquehannas, or Andastes, and farther west were the Eries and the Neutral nation, all three kindred to them. For 200 years the Iroquois were a great factor in the safety and progress of the European settlements, and another century found them but little diminished in numbers, while many still clung to their early homes. A people so important, so powerful, so permanent, deserves more than mere recognition.

The Iroquois had a strong, but in some ways very vague religious belief. Unseen deities ruled their lives through mystic dreams, and these dreams must always be observed, however unpleasant this might be. All things to them had a tinge of the supernatural. Trees, rocks and animals had an inner soul. There were viewless spirits, fairies and flying heads. Stone giants and monstrous beasts were frequent. The great Holder of the Heavens was a dwarf in size; for what need had omnipotent power of physical strength? The beasts of the forest were their ancient kindred, necessary for food but reverently treated. Sacrifices were few and simple. In a certain way captives might have been offered to Aireskoi at an early day, or a white dog to

the Great Spirit at a later time, but offerings were usually simpler; some tobacco burned, a pipe or beads dropped at some sacred place, were the common gifts. Worship was by singing or dancing; seldom with prayer.

Though the myths in which the origin of many nations is involved are to be taken with reservations, they may have interest and value. Those of the Iroquois are many and conflicting. The creative myth, in which the woman falls from the sky, alighting on the turtle's back, which thenceforth supports the world, was not peculiar to the Iroquois, being told by others with varying details. The creature which at last brings up earth from the bottom of the sea, using it for the germ of the great island of America, is not always the same, nor do all relate the later events alike. When the woman's descendants appear, there is a greater variation still. David Cusick's story of the two children, the Good and Bad Mind, is well known. Mr James Dean, the interpreter, gave the Oneida story with other particulars. The father of the children lived at the bottom of the sea, and lured the Good Mind to his home, to save him from the malice of his mother and brother, and tell him what to do. The great contest began after this, with its peculiar weapons. When slain, the flinty body of the Evil Mind became the great range of the Rocky Mountains.

The Seneca chief Canassatego—not the earlier Onondaga of that name—had another tale of man's creation. One of their deities raised the land of Konosioni above the waters, and sowed five handfuls of red seed in it. From these came the Five Nations; prosperous when following his advice, unfortunate when disregarding it.

The story of national origin and migration is not always the same. The Delaware tradition is that the Delawares and the Five Nations came eastward together, side by side and harmoniously, dispossessing those who were in the way and amicably dividing the land. There is some ground for part of this.

David Cusick, the Tuscarora historian, had a different tale to tell. The people were hid in a great mountain at Oswego Falls,

and, on their release by Tarenyawagon, went down the Mohawk and Hudson to the sea. Six families returned, five settling successively as Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas, varying their language and becoming distinct nations. The sixth passed Lake Erie, part crossing the Mississippi and part remaining behind. The latter turned eastward, entered North Carolina and became the Tuscaroras. In later days a league was formed. Though some have accepted this order of settlement, an examination of sites discredits this westward march, the Mohawks entering New York last of all.

Nicholas Perrot, the French interpreter, an early and good authority, said: "The country of the Iroquois was formerly Montreal and Three Rivers. . .Their removal was in consequence of a quarrel unexpectedly occurring between them and the Algonquins. . .This explains why these also claim the island of Montreal as the land of their ancestors."

This alludes to a well known tale, and Champlain said, still earlier, that the Iroquois left there "more than 60 acres of deserted land which are like prairies." The Iroquois whom he knew were Mohawks, though he encountered the Oneidas.

Lafitau quoted an early tradition, mentioned by him alone: "The Mohawk Iroquois, it is said, assert that they wandered a long time under the conduct of a woman named Gaihonariosk; this woman led them about through all the north of America, and made them pass to a place where the town of Quebec is now situated. . . This is what the Agniers tell of their origin."

In M. Pouchot's *Memoirs*, he speaks of Sandy creek in Jefferson county, N. Y.:

> The River Au Sables, in Indian Etcataragarenré, is remarkable in this, that at the head of the south branch, called Tecanonouaronesi, is the place where the traditions of the Iroquois fix the spot where they issued from the ground, or rather, according to their ideas, where they were born.

Indian forts are frequent there, and it seems an early home of the Onondagas. On their migration farther south that people had a similar tale of their first fort at Oswego Falls. There they

seem to have first settled in that region, as it were coming out of the ground, for others of their people followed. This tradition is probable and well sustained. They say they came from the north, along the St Lawrence, whence straggling bands followed their pioneers. In process of time, urged by the war, others came, all then seeking the highlands, and were called Onondagas from their home on the hills where they found a safe refuge. Their further tradition is of the same gradual occupation, the Bear and Wolf tribes originating near Oswego Falls, the Beaver and Heron or Snipe on the shore of Lake Ontario, the Eel and Turtle on Seneca river, and the Deer and Hawk on the Onondaga hills. An Onondaga chief once testified that they came to Onondaga by way of Oriskany, and some may have done so.

Both Clark and Schoolcraft mention a tradition that the Oneidas originated with some Onondagas, who left their homes and settled at the mouth of Oneida creek, removing thence to the vicinity of Munnsville, and thence to Oneida Castle. The objections are that they are closely allied to the Mohawks in every way, and that their homes at the lake and Oneida Castle were settled in the middle of the 18th century, and not before the league was formed.

Except the simple one of David Cusick there is no tradition of Cayuga origin, but they probably entered New York from the west, with or preceding the Senecas.

The general Seneca tradition is well known, relating that that nation had its first seat on a large hill at the head of Canandaigua lake. No remains of importance are known there, and the serpent story is supposed to belong to Bare hill on the eastern shore, where was an early fort. Briefly the tale is of a curious snake, caught and brought home by a boy, which developed an enormous appetite and grew to a great size. Lying outside the gate, he devoured the inmates as they came forth, till only a boy and girl were left. The boy destroyed the monster with a charmed arrow and recovered many of his friends, but all sought a new home. One explanation of this favorite Iroquois tale is that the fort was besieged by a powerful foe, or that something near

by produced a pestilence. The story seems to belong to but one of the two great bands of the Senecas. The spot had its common name from being bare of trees when first known to the whites.

Aside from Cusick's legend all that we know of the Tuscaroras falls within historic times.

Of the Iroquois nations mentioned, five were already in New York when Champlain and Hudson entered it in 1609. The Mohawks had come by way of Lake Champlain from the north; the Oneidas from the same direction, apparently leaving the St Lawrence at Oswegatchie river and tarrying in that region for a time; the Onondagas had gradually migrated from Jefferson county to the Oswego and Seneca rivers, hastening their movements and seeking the hills farther south when the great war broke out late in the 16th century; the Cayugas and Senecas had come by way of Niagara river much earlier than this, moving eastward unmolested. Thus are differences of dialects reconciled with other facts.

Something may be said of the family elsewhere as well as here. The Five Nations were known to Champlain as the Iroquois and Entouhonorons, and to the Dutch as Maquas and Senecas; both indicating the Mohawks by the first name and classing four others under the second. Their territory included Schoharie valley on the east, not reaching the Hudson. Westward their villages then almost reached Genesee river, and they probably had towns farther west before the Huron war. West of them was the Neutral nation, occupying both sides of Niagara river and the north side of Lake Erie, permitting the passage of Huron and Iroquois warriors, but forbidding violence in this. North of these were the Hurons or Wyandots, the good Iroquois of Champlain, and sometimes the Ochateguins, from one of their chiefs. They termed the Neutrals Attiwandaronks, Those of a Language a little different, and had the same name in turn. North of these were the Tionontaties, People beyond the Mountains, so called from the hills between them and the Hurons, but better known as the Petun or Tobacco nation, from raising and trading with

that herb. More rarely they were at one time called the Nez Percés, or Indians with Little Holes through their Noses; a name better applied to Indians west of them.

South of Lake Erie were the Eries, another large branch of the family, and all along the Susquehanna, from the New York line to the sea, including part of Delaware, was still another branch, the Minquas of the Dutch, the Andastes of the French. All these spoke dialects of the Iroquois tongue, and may have radiated in their later migrations from some spot near the east end of Lake Erie. As yet separated by hostile tribes from the New York Iroquois were two southern branches, the Tuscaroras and Cherokees, the former one day to become the sixth nation, and the latter to be a stubborn foe of the confederacy.

In Canada, New England and southern New York were the Algonquin tribes, and others of these were encountered when the Hurons, Eries and Neutrals were out of the way.

From the Algonquins all were distinguished by language and partially by habits of life. The Algonquins used labials freely; the Huron-Iroquois not at all, and their language has been much discussed. Father Brébeuf said, in 1636: "The variety of compounds is very great; it is the key to the secret of their language. They have as many genders as ourselves; as many numbers as the Greeks." Prof. Max Müller wrote: "To my mind the structure of such a language as the Mohawk is quite sufficient evidence that those who worked out such a work of art were powerful reasoners and accurate classifiers."

Mr Horatio Hale, the eminent Canadian philologist, said:

A complete grammar of this speech, as full and minute as the best Sanscrit or Greek grammars, would probably equal and perhaps surpass those grammars in extent. The unconscious forces of memory and of discrimination required to maintain this complicated machine, and to preserve it constantly exact and in good working order, must be prodigious.

Mr Hale also said:

Philologists are well aware that there is nothing in the language of the American Indians to favor the conjecture (for it is nothing else) which derives the race from eastern Asia. But in

western Europe one community is known to exist, speaking a language which in its general structure manifests a near likeness to the Indian tongue. Alone of all the races of the old continent the Basques or Euskarians of northern Spain and southwestern France have a speech of that highly complex and polysynthetic character which distinguishes the American languages.

This was but a likeness, but it led Mr Hale to say of western Europe: "The derivation of the American population from this source presents no serious improbability whatever." He afterward showed how the many Indian dialects might have originated about the Columbia river.

According to one writer 12 letters will answer for all Iroquois sounds, though this requires the hardening of some. In this scheme we have a, e, f, h, i, k, n, o, r, s, t, w. The English missionaries used 16 for the Mohawk tongue: a, d, e, g, h, i, j, k, n, o, r, s, t, u, w, y. L is much used by the Oneidas, and R by the Mohawks, D and T, G and K, are interchangeable. Dual and plural numbers have proper prefixes in most cases. Local relations are shown by affixed particles. Adjectives may follow substantives, but more commonly coalesce. Pronouns exceed those in European languages, and verbs have three modes. The frequent differences in personal nouns are often due to the dropping of a pronoun or particle, or its addition.

Chapter 2

Surrounding nations. Food, houses, forts and weapons. Weaving and dress. Sepulture. Wampum. Stories and songs. Etiquette. Adoption. Orators and diplomats. Intoning and pantomime.

Brief notices may here be given of some other nations with whom the Iroquois came in contact at various times, but some are sufficiently noticed elsewhere. Thus it may be enough to say of the Hurons, called Quatoghies and Agaritkas by the Iroquois, that they and the Petuns were the Wyandots of later days, Wendat being the collective name given in 1639.

Algonquin was contracted from Algomequin, a people living on the Ottawa river and noted in their day. In 1736 but 20 of their men lived at Montreal, and a French writer said: "This

is all that remains of a nation the most warlike, most polished and the most attached to the French." Their name has become the generic title of a great linguistic family. They were the Adirondacks of Colden.

The Montagnais, or Montagnards, have simply a French name, referring to their homes in the mountains below Quebec.

The Abénaquiois, or Abenaki, were the Kennebecs or Eastern Indians of the English, called Owenagungas by the Iroquois. The Sokoquois, or Sokokis, were the Saco Indians belonging to the Abenakis. They and the Mahicans are now the St Francis Indians of Canada.

The Loups, or Wolves, comprised the Schaghticoke Indians, who came from New England in 1672, the Mahicans, who formerly owned Albany, and those sometimes called Mahikanders or River Indians. The Iroquois called these Agotsagenens. The Mohicans of New England were their kindred. The Wappingers were Algonquins of the lower Hudson, and the Montauks were Algonquins of Long Island. The Delawares, or Lenni-lenape, were also their kindred and divided into three families, of which the Munseys are best known. Their early homes were on the Delaware. There were many minor divisions, but the Minquas or Mengwe must not be classed with these as Ruttenber has done.

The Ottawas were the Utawawas and Dowaganhaes, or Far Indians, embracing several nations. Among these were the Necariages or Ennikaragi. The Kiskakons made another, north of Lake Huron.

The Illinois were on the Illinois river, and were known as Chictaghicks or Kichtages; also Geghtigeghroones. Several distinct tribes were included under this name. East of them the Miamis, Oumiamis or Weas, were called Twightwees by the Iroquois. The migratory Shawnees, or Shaounons, were also Satanas. The first name relates to their southern origin.

The Ojibwas, or Chippewas, were called Ostiagaghroones by the Iroquois. The Saulteurs of the Sault Ste Marie were part of these, known as Estiaghicks. The Mississagas belonged to them, but came east from Lake Huron.

The Maskoutins, or Assistaeronons, were the Fire Nation, more properly that of the prairies, and were also called Odislastagheks. They lived in Michigan, and 1000 Maskoutins and Outagamis were reported as massacred near Detroit in 1712. They were foes of the Neutral nation, suffering much from them. The Nipissings, or Nipissiriniens, had this Algonquin name from *nippi,* water, and were called Squekaneronons by the Iroquois, from Lake Skekouen. The Sacs and Foxes, of the Algonquin family, at first lived north of Lake Ontario, but went west. The Iroquois called the latter Quaksies.

The Catawbas were termed Flatheads, and some give the same name to the Choctaws, Cherokees and others. The Saponies and Toteros or Tuteloes were branches of the Catawbas, who removed to New York.

The Nanticokes may have been the Tockwoghs of Virginia. They were called Unechtgo, Tawachguano, and by the Iroquois Skaniadarighroonas, afterward going west. Some consider the Conoys a part of these. After a brief residence in Pennsylvania both lived for many years in New York, on the Chenango river.

The Cherokees were the Oyadagaono, called also T'kwentaheuhnane, People of a Beautiful Red Color.

The early writers classified our northern aborigines as nomadic and sedentary, the latter having towns continuously inhabited and fields steadily cultivated. These remained for several years in a place, removing when fuel and fields were exhausted. Agriculture was rude, and the staples were the three supporters of life, corn, beans and squashes, with tobacco, added as a solace in rest or an aid in council. Squashes were dried for winter use, and corn and beans were kept in chests in houses, or in deep pits in the ground. The Iroquois found fish abundant in the waters and game in the forest, but could only dry or smoke these for preservation, not knowing the use of salt. Fruits were dried and nuts gathered, the latter furnishing an agreeable oil.

When known to the whites, the Iroquois had almost abandoned the use of earthworks, preferring instead their strong palisades. Their houses were long, narrow, and of bark, nor did they adopt

the log house for more than a century. The fires were placed at intervals in the long aisle, with couches or floors on either side, these huts often being of great length and holding many families.

Their weapons were simple at first. An ungrooved stone ax, a long bow and arrows, defensive armor including a shield at times, a club with bone or stone inserted at the head, a knife of stone or bone and afterward of steel, furnished all that was needed in war. Nets and bone harpoons were used in fishing, and more rarely lines with bone hooks. Weirs and hurdles were also employed, but in shallow waters spearing was the favorite mode. Arrows were tipped with bone, horn, or stone, and the use of metal changed the material but not the form. Blowguns were largely used.

Baskets and mats were woven in an artistic manner, and weaving embraced other simple articles. Thread and cords were made of Indian hemp and the inner bark of the elm, sinews also being used for many things. Baskets, bark vessels and carved wooden bowls were found in every house, and every Iroquois had his capacious and often handsome wooden spoon. At the period of European contact pottery had gone beyond simple lining, pinching and dotting, and many clay vessels were ornamented with the human face or figure. According to the maker's taste or skill, such vessels were rude or elegant. This is true of the early pipes, in which the Iroquois chiefly used fine clay. They were often simple and of a curved trumpet form, but as frequently the bowl had some tasteful figure, facing the smoker. Sometimes the pipe was ornamented throughout.

The true Iroquois canoe was of elm bark, quite clumsy in comparison with the graceful birch bark of the northern Algonquins and Hurons. On the Mohawk river dugouts were sometimes used. Snowshoes aided winter travel, and the back frame was in favor for carrying some burdens. The sled was rarely used.

Dress was scanty in summer, but ample in winter, and had the usual ornaments of feathers, beads or embroidery. Perforated or grooved teeth were much used, and the introduction of bronze and silver, with the white man's blanket, greatly changed primi-

tive apparel. The neat and handsome moccasin long survived and beaded work is still used. At one time elaborate bone combs were much employed, and early writers mention stockings and mittens.

In the household the large wooden pestle and mortar are still found, being preferred in mealing corn, for very good reasons. Basket sieves, stirring sticks and other things are still used, but the wooden spoon has had its day.

Two early games were those of lacrosse and the dish or bowl, the latter now called the peach-stone game. Both these are widespread and of high antiquity. The latter is for great occasions, but has a modification for domestic use, which may be quite as old. The snow snake is of uncertain age, having no mention in early writings, as several minor games have not. The musical instruments were and are the flute, kettledrum and various kinds of rattles.

Sepulture was rarely on the surface, the body being usually bound in a crouching posture and placed upright in a pit, but ways of burial varied greatly and sometimes curiously. Some memorial often marked the spot. Pits were also dug to hold grain, and many open ones may yet be seen. They are sometimes mistaken for graves. Bone pits were rare, though much used by the Neutrals and Hurons.

During the historic period wampum came into use in many ways, but was hardly known in the interior before. Wooden masks have an age of over two centuries and are still made. Worship has varied greatly, and consists mainly of singing and dancing. The great Iroquois feast was that once termed a turning of the head, when dreams were related and the wildest follies committed. This at last became the white dog feast, now almost obsolete. There are many minor feasts, mostly of thanksgiving. Belonging to these are many dances, original and adopted, of which Morgan has given a long list, enumerating 32, with descriptions of many.

As with all unlettered nations, the story-teller was a man of importance, giving pleasure in many an idle hour. His tales of

travel were not always believed, but were heard with wonder. Any one could relate his own deeds; he kept in memory those of the past. Count Zinzendorf said: "These Indians perpetuate the memory of their heroes in heroic poems, which are so accurately handed down orally that it is impossible for any one to boast of feats which he has not performed." Above all, the marvelous story-teller dwelt on the relations of man to the lower creation, originating or keeping in mind those pathetic or comic tales wherein men, birds and beasts meet as friends or foes; often as kindred. David Cusick recorded briefly some of the more grotesque of these, telling of flying heads, stone giants, vampires, monstrous beasts, serpents and witches, but gave only a hint of the Indian tales told by the winter's fire. Welcome was the story-teller everywhere, nor was his fee of tobacco ever grudged.

There was a higher purpose when the wampum was produced and its meaning revealed. That told of history, established ceremonies, moral laws. Songs were to be learned that religious rites might be duly observed; other songs preserving the names, deeds and virtues of their ancestors, exactly learned for condoling the dead or raising new chiefs; points of etiquette to be observed, for they were a punctilious people, having precise rules for every public act; how to speak and how to dance, with many a regulation for private life. They often looked on their white friends as unpolished people, pitying them for their lack of good manners. Sometimes they even showed them the better way.

The Algonquins were less sedentary than the Iroquois, and cultivated the soil much less. Some have made the Iroquois long house and the Algonquin circular hut marks of distinction, but these are far from invariable. The Iroquois have been considered the higher intellectually and the more eloquent, but this was partly the result of their frequent regular or special councils as a great power. Indeed they adopted captives or allies so largely that but few of pure Iroquois blood may have lived in historic times. The training alone continued, and this developed a high type of aboriginal life. They were accustomed to plan, fight and rule. In later days their vantage ground between the

French and English made them able diplomats, and they used their power well.

Their eloquence has been celebrated and has not lost its power yet. Competent persons have testified that it lost rather than gained by interpretation. Colden says, in his *History of the Five Nations:*

The speakers whom I have heard had all a great fluency of words and much more grace in their manner than any man could expect among a people entirely ignorant of the liberal arts and sciences. . . I have heard an old Indian sachem speak with much vivacity and elocution, so that the speaker pleased and moved his audience with the manner of delivering his discourse, which, however, as it afterwards came from the interpreter, disappointed us in our expectations. After the speaker had employed a considerable time in haranguing with much elocution, the interpreter often explained the whole by one single sentence. I believe the speaker, in that time, embellished and advanced his figures, that they might have their full force on their imagination, while the interpreter contented himself with the sense, in as few words as it could be expressed.

Of this Mr Parish, the interpreter, once said it was altogether impossible for him to impart to the translations anything like the force and beauty of the originals. He also stated that on great occasions, the Indian orators, Red Jacket and Farmer's Brother in particular, not only studied their speeches, and conned them well, but would send to him for rehearsals, in order that they might be assured that he understood them fully, and could translate them with accuracy.

Examples will appear incidentally, but a quotation may be added from a French writer, who heard Dekanissora in 1694:

These are the words of Teganissorens, which he enunciated with as perfect a grace as is vouchsafed to an unpolished and uncivilized people. He went through his speech with freedom and collectedness, and concluded with a certain modesty and so great a show of respect and submission to the Count as to be remarked.

Originally Iroquois speeches combined plain speech, intoning and pantomime. An account of Kiotsaeton's address and presents appears in the *Relation* of 1645. "After a few words he began

to sing, and his comrades responded. He promenaded in that great place as in a theater. He made a thousand gestures, he looked at the sky, he faced the sun, he rubbed his hands." The presents were made and explained in a soberer tone, and a few concluding words followed. "His manner and words were much praised. He intoned some songs between his presents, he danced for rejoicing; in short he showed himself a very good actor."

Intoning was often used to show that a message or meaning was quoted. When Cammerhoff and Zeisberger were at the Onondaga council in 1750, a chief had a message to deliver from the Nanticokes: "To our astonishment an old Oneida began to sing the message which he had for the council in a very high tenor voice. He continued for more than half an hour." The Moravians explained their belt and string to Canassatego, and he spoke for them in the council. "He at once showed them the Fathom of Wampum and belt, and intoned in the usual Indian fashion the significance of each."

Besides pantomime and songs there were early customs in speaking which have ceased. When Le Moyne was at Onondaga in 1654, he said: "I was the full space of two hours making all my harangue in the tone of a captain, promenading after their custom, like an actor on a stage."

Chapter 3

Clans and their divisions. Totemic bond. Line of descent. Migrations. Date of League. Cartier's visit. Mohawks leave Canada. Traces of them there. Iroquois war. Algonquins at Montreal. First Mohawk towns in New York. Age of Huron nations.

The three great and probably original clans found in each Iroquois nation are the Bear, Wolf and Turtle, and without these no council was valid. The Mohawks and Oneidas had only these, but the others had supplementary clans, varying in names and number. L. H. Morgan gave five of these to the Senecas: the Beaver, Deer, Snipe, Heron and Hawk. To the Cayugas he assigned the Snipe, Eel, Beaver, Deer and Hawk, but the Onondagas say that all Eels belong to them. To the Onondagas he

gave the Snipe, Beaver, Ball, Deer and Eel, leaving out the Hawk clan. Both he and Horatio Hale mention the Ball clan, which is really a subdivision of the Turtle, commonly known as the Small Turtle. To the Tuscaroras he gave in full the Bear, Great and Little Turtle, Gray and Yellow Wolf, Eel, Beaver and Snipe. There are Onondaga Eels on that reservation, which may account for a supposed Tuscarora clan. He allowed them no Hawk clan, and assigned the Heron only to the Senecas. J. V. H. Clark's Onondaga enumeration is the Bear, Wolf, Turtle, Eel, Deer, Beaver, Eagle and Heron, substituting the latter for the Snipe, which is an Onondaga clan, and the Eagle for the Hawk, which seems proper. The writer belongs to the Eel clan.

In 1666 there was a different enumeration and naming by a French writer. Nine Iroquois clans were named in two divisions, the first being called Guey-niotiteshesgué, meaning four tribes. These were the Turtle, or Atiniathin; the Wolf, called Enanthayonni or Cahenhisenhonon; the Bear, or Atinionguin; and the Beaver. The second division was Ouiche-niotiteshesgué, or five tribes. Of these the Deer was Canendeshé; the Potato, Schoneschioronon; the Great Plover, Otinanchahé; the Little Plover, Asco or Nicohes; and the Eagle, Canonchahonronon. A Frenchman, adopted as a Seneca, gave another account in 1736, naming 10 clans, but omitting the Wolf and Heron. They were the Bear, Turtle, Plover, Eel, Deer, Beaver, Potato, Falcon, Lark and Partridge. Variations are frequent.

The Onondaga clans are now the Turtle, or Ho-te-neah-te; Wolf, or Ho-te-kwa-ho; Bear, or Ho-te-ska-wak; Beaver, or Ho-te-hu-ne-wha-keh-ha-no, People of the Creek; Snipe, or Ho-te-ne-see-yuh, People of the Sand; Eel, or Ho-te-teu-ha-kah, People of the Rushes; Deer, or Da-hah-de-ge-nine, People of Hoofs; and Hawk, or Ho-te-swe-gi-yu. They are the Boards, alluding to the large sticks in hawks' or eagles' nests.

No one marries in his own clan, and not long since there were clan burials. When traveling, they are supposed to be entertained by those of their own clan. How five of the clans fared in visiting the Oneidas and Mohawks has not been explained.

In old times the totems appeared on every house, but the Mohawks at first had a village for each clan. This soon ceased. When a clan seemed dying out, it might be replenished from others. At one time the Mohawks preserved the Oneida nation in this way, supplying husbands for the women.

The principal chiefs were unequally distributed among the clans, and some had none at all. This has been thought proof that these originated after the formation of the league. In later days there have been changes, and offices are not now always in the clans to which they first belonged.

David Cusick, a native Tuscarora, said that "each nation contains sets of generations or tribes, viz: Otter, Bear, Wolf, Beaver, Turtle. Each tribe has two chiefs to settle disputes." Schoolcraft found Eels resident among the Tuscaroras, but, in the face of all history, said it was not an Iroquois clan totem. Charlevoix spoke of the division of the Iroquois Turtle clan nearly two centuries ago: "The family of the Tortoise is split into two branches, called the Great and Little Tortoise. The chief of each family bears its name, and in all public deeds he is called by no other." The latter branch is the Ball clan of some writers, a name derived from a Hiawatha legend.

Those who have treated of the Iroquois system as a carefully arranged and artificial plan, rather than a natural growth, have had much to say on the wisdom of the totemic bond, supposing that its great advantages had been foreseen. All members of a clan were considered near relatives; the three principal clans belonged to all the nations, and their supposed family relationship and actual friendship seemed to bind all together. The rule against marrying in the same clan made another link. There was no household which did not belong to two or more clans. If a man might not have a place in the Grand Council by reason of his clan, his son possibly might, for father and child were never of the same. The children followed the mother's side in nation and tribe, thus enhancing her dignity. In many such ways the clan strengthened the league. A wise plan would have required each one of these everywhere, but they came in a simple

and natural way. Mr Hale took the same view, considering that the three western nations adopted more captives or allies than the Oneidas and Mohawks, and thus had more clans.

The examination of early New York sites has thrown much light on the time and manner of the Iroquois advent in New York, heretofore based on doubtful grounds, though historic proof seemed ample. No precise date can be given to the coming of the Cayugas and Senecas, but no great age can be allowed either of these. The case of the Onondagas is much clearer. The former seem to have come directly from the west, and the latter from the north, tarrying for awhile at the east end of Lake Ontario. Early in the 16th century they had some settlements in the north part of Onondaga county and south part of Oswego, but did not reach the hills whence they had their name till late in that century. Before its close they may have had one or two towns there. One occupied about 1600, or a little later, is closely connected by its relics with those having European articles.

Possibly one early Oneida fort may be dated before 1580, but the one which had the earliest of those Oneida stones which gave name to the nation must have been later, and to this succeeded the fort attacked by Champlain in 1615, also having its great boulder. The Oneidas remained among the higher hills till some time in the 18th century, when they sought the lower land. Their earlier homes seem to have been on either side of the St Lawrence, in the vicinity of the Oswegatchie river. From these two nations we might find an approximate date for the league, but Mohawk history, traditions and remains furnish much plainer evidence.

Indian tradition is no sure guide, for, even when striking events are kept in mind, dates are almost certain to be confused. So those who depend on popular tales vary over a century in the date of the league. Mr Hale disregarded David Cusick's estimates of time, but followed his scheme of settlement and division of dialects, concluding that Mr Morgan was right in dating the league about 1459. These eminent writers knew little practically of early Iroquois towns, and these silent witnesses did not

affect their conclusions. Nor did plain history. Little was said of what Champlain, Charlevoix, Perrot, the Jesuits and others wrote, nor were Albert Gallatin's sober conclusions mentioned. Tradition and the varying accounts of Indian chiefs were trusted by both. Some Indians mentioned by Hale now deduct a century and a half, carrying the date of the league to near 1600. From similar Oneida statements, the Rev. Samuel Kirkland made this 1608. Heckewelder quoted from a manuscript volume of Pyrlaeus, the Moravian missionary, an account of the formation of the league which he had from a Mohawk chief: "The alliance or confederacy of the Five Nations was established, as near as can be conjectured, one age (or the length of a man's life) before the white people (the Dutch) came into the country." The words in parentheses are Heckewelder's, and the question may well be raised whether he was right. Shakspere gives seven ages to one man's life. Did the age of Pyrlaeus mean one man's life, or the generation of about 30 years? What coming of the whites was meant? Was it that of Hudson, whom they may not have seen? or that of Champlain, whom they had reason to remember? or that of the Dutch, to trade or settle? The initial date is slightly confused. Some have assumed this as 1609, deducted 70 years for a man's life, and dated the confederacy in 1539, which is much too early. If a generation of 30 years be allowed, we would have 1579, which approximates the true date of the Mohawk exodus.

But if we are to quote Pyrlaeus at all, let us hear more, a thing seldom done. After noting the rank of the Mohawks and Oneidas, he proceeds to say: "The Senecas, who were the last who at that time had consented to the alliance, were called the youngest son; but the Tuscaroras, who joined the confederacy probably a hundred years afterwards, assumed that name, and the Senecas ranked before them, as being the next youngest son, or as we would say, the youngest son but one." Now the Tuscaroras were admitted about 1714, making the Seneca alliance about 1614 and harmonizing with Champlain's distinction of the Senecas from the Iroquois. Their union seems earlier than the date which Pyrlaeus here gives.

All traditions of the original league say that the Senecas were the last to join, and their own date may be cited from Schoolcraft: "There is a tradition among portions of the Senecas, that the present confederation took place four years before Hudson sailed up the river bearing his name. This gives A. D. 1605." Then Schoolcraft learned that Ephraim Webster was told by the Onondagas that the true date was "about the length of one man's life before the white men appeared." What white men this inland nation meant may be a question. On the date J. V. H. Clark cited the same person: "Webster, the Onondaga interpreter, and good authority, states it at about two generations before the white people came to trade with the Indians."

In 1875 some Onondaga chiefs told Mr Hale that "it was their belief that the confederacy was formed about six generations before the white people came to these parts." He allowed 25 years to a generation or 150 years for all. Deduct these from 1609 and there remains Morgan's date of 1459. The same Onondagas afterward testified in court that the date was about 1600. It is evident that such statements are not reliable. What does history, what does the Iroquois country itself say?

In 1535 Jacques Cartier ascended the St Lawrence to Quebec and Montreal, finding Iroquois spoken more or less all the way, and preserving many words and names. At Montreal he visited and described the Iroquois town of Hochelaga. They long remembered that visit and seem to have mentioned it in a council at Albany, June 2, 1691, though they may have referred to Captain Jacobs, who reached Albany in 1623, or perhaps confused both with Hudson's coming.

We have been informed by our Forefathers that in former times a Ship arrived here in this Country which was matter of great admiration to us, especially our desire was to know what was within her Belly. In that Ship were Christians, amongst the rest one Jaques with whom we made a Covenant of friendship, which covenant hath since been tied together with a chaine and always ever since kept inviolable by the Brethren and us.

A probable reference to Cartier's visit by the Mohawks is found on the map of 1616, and is thus translated: "But as far as one can

understand from what the Maquas say and show, the French came with sloops as high up as to their country to trade with them." As this note is placed near the site of Albany on the map, it has been understood to refer to the Hudson river instead of the St Lawrence, though the latter was Iroquois territory and the former was not. Though there were Iroquois all along the St Lawrence when Cartier ascended it, Champlain found only Algonquins when he went up that great stream in 1603. Where had the ancient inhabitants gone?

The story has been told by De la Potherie, Charlevoix, Colden and others, and has much to confirm it incidentally. Charlevoix said it was the most credible story of the origin of the Iroquois war that he could find, and thought this was of somewhat recent date when Champlain came. The Iroquois and Adirondacks lived peaceably together on the river; the former cultivating their fields as Cartier describes, and the latter employing their time in hunting, each supplying the needs of the other. On one occasion, when the Iroquois wished to try hunting, the Algonquins consented, willing to show their superior skill. Six of each went along, but the Algonquins left the Iroquois in the camp, taking the hunt to themselves but taking nothing else. Three days passed and they killed nothing. Then the Iroquois went out secretly with great success. Night came on, and their jealous companions killed them all while asleep. When this was at last discovered, they scornfully refused redress to their injured friends. Powerless to do anything then, the Iroquois "bound themselves by oath to perish to a man, or to have their revenge." They left their country, learned war prudently and successfully, and in due time, said Charlevoix, "they poured all at once upon the Algonquins, and commenced that war of which we saw only the conclusion, and which set all Canada on fire. . . Those who suffered most were the Hurons, who engaged in this war as allies, auxiliaries, or neighbors to the Algonquins, or because they lay in the way of both."

Colden said they went to New York, easily drove off the Satanas, or Shawnees, practised stratagems because of their

weakness, and then turned their arms against the Adirondacks or Algonquins with success. Charlevoix adds that, while the Algonquins took no precautions against surprise, "the Iroquois alone use more circumspection in war, and there is no doubt that it is one of the principal causes of the superiority which they have acquired over the enemies who have never yielded to them in valor, and might easily have crushed them by numbers." That this war was recent when Champlain came is evident. Though this had caused them to abandon the islands of Lake Champlain, the Indians with the great explorer in 1609 told him that the Vermont shore belonged to the Iroquois, and that there were beautiful valleys and fertile cornfields there. Even in 1636 a missionary on the St Lawrence said: "The savages have shown me some places where the Iroquois formerly cultivated the land." He advised them to use these, so that they could not have greatly changed.

There is a reference to the beginning of this war in Champlain's account of the proposed peace between the Iroquois and Algonquins in 1622. The Indians said "they were tired and weary of wars which they had had for more than fifty years; and that their fathers had never wished to enter into treaty, on account of the desire for vengeance which they wished to obtain for the murder of their friends, who had been killed; but, having considered the good which might result, they resolved, as has been said to make peace."

This would place the beginning of the Iroquois war about 1570. In the *Relation* of 1660 there is a sketch of the varying fortunes of the Mohawks since 1600 and before. "Toward the end of the last century the Agnieronnons had been brought so low by the Algonquins that there appeared almost no more of them upon the earth. In a few years they overcame their foes and reduced them to the same state. Then the Andastes harassed them, and they were in great fear. The Dutch came and gave them guns; they were again victors and never lost their advantage. All that the French could learn of their military history went not far back in the 16th century."

The early writers treat their recent residence on the St Lawrence as a well known fact, but some mention Algonquins who were present at the founding of Montreal in 1642. One said his grandfather lived there, and added: "The Hurons, who were then our enemies, chased our ancestors from this country; some retired toward the land of the Abnaquiois, the others to the land of the Iroquois, and one part turned to the Hurons themselves, uniting with them, and behold the land was made almost a desert." This either combines the expulsion of the Iroquois with that of the Algonquins, or makes it precede this, and agrees with the Huron account that they received another nation about 1590, making due allowance for Indian dates. Indeed those Algonquins who went to the Iroquois may have inflamed them against the great body of the Hurons, and thus led to war.

These early references to the exodus of the Mohawks from Canada have recently had the aid of archeology, and one question now is, what evidences of early Iroquois occupation does the lower Mohawk valley present? There are camps and graves, and some insignificant hamlets belonging to prehistoric times and of brief occupancy. But three prehistoric forts are known, in two of which one or two ornaments of European make have been found. Both of these forts are north of the river, and both are distinctly related to the succeeding historic towns. The third is a few miles south of the Mohawk, and was at first said to yield European articles, but later explorers have found none. Its relics have not such distinct relations to succeeding town sites, but its Iroquois character is clear. These are all the town sites known to belong to the New York Mohawks of precolonial times. It is possible one or two more may be found.

It is well known that the Mohawks once had three tribal towns, one for each of their three clans, differing in this from the other Iroquois, but this feature did not last long. It is also well known that early Iroquois towns changed their sites every 10 or 15 years on an average. Making the removal of these three occur in 1600, and allowing them a period of 20 years, their settlement would have been about 1580. Another 20 years or less

would have brought succeeding towns well into the Dutch period, and would account for the abundant European ornaments. The earlier ones may have come from the French in Canada. Their vessels haunted the lower St Lawrence, trading with the natives, who carried their wares far inland. There is full proof of this.

Some time should be allowed for the Mohawks' exodus; but from Champlain's account their war with the remaining Canadian Indians should be dated about 1570, and the Algonquin expulsion from Montreal varied little. The grandsire of one of the Algonquins of 1642 had lived there, and 70 years is ample time to allow for this. The dates may then be 1560 for the withdrawal of the Mohawks, a little later for the occupancy of their valley, and some interval may have elapsed before forming the league. It is customary to date the statement of Pyrlaeus from Hudson's voyage, but that explorer probably saw no Mohawks and it seems more reasonable to count from active trade with the Dutch, or the founding of Fort Orange. The true date of the confederacy seems to lie between the years 1570 and 1600.

One more statement may help us. Bearing in mind the numbers of the Iroquois and their frequent removals, any experienced person can see that their coming into New York can not be placed very far back, for the number and character of the sites will not allow this. A brief period covers the longest occupation of any early site, but some forts were inhabited but a few weeks. A good observer can sometimes closely determine the time. History aids us a little here. The Iroquois and Hurons were closely related, the Mohawks being a recent offshoot of the latter. In the *Relation* of 1639 it is said of the Hurons:

> The general or common name of these nations, according to the language of the country, is Ouendat; the individual names are Attignaouantan, Attigneenongnahac, Arendahronons, and Tohontaenrat. The first two are the two most considerable, as having received and adopted the others into their country. The one within fifty years in this, and the other within thirty. The first two speak with assurance of the dwelling of their ancestors, and of the different situations of their villages for more than two hundred years, for, as it may be observed in preceding *Relations*, they are obliged to change their place at least every ten years.

Here it appears that two of the Huron nations came into their land rather early in the 15th century, according to themselves, but probably later; that they received another nation about 1590, or after the Mohawk exodus; and that the fourth nation joined them about 1610.

Chapter 4

Origin of league. Probable date. Allotment of sachems. Hiawatha. Names of sachems and their meaning. Other chiefs. Name and territory of each nation. Council names. Brotherhoods. Name of league. Iroquois and Algonquin name. Place of formative council. Influence of women.

Of the formation of the Iroquois league Pyrlaeus received an account in 1743, which differs only in brevity from all later ones. It was proposed by Thannawage, an aged Mohawk, and Toganawita appeared for the Mohawks, Otatschechta for the Oneidas, Tatoyarho for the Onondagas, Togarhayon for the Cayugas, and Ganiatario and Satagarnyes for the Senecas. These names are in the Mohawk dialect and were to be preserved by successive chiefs. This has been done with the exception of the first, who has no nominal successor. He considered himself the founder of the league, and no one could follow him in this. In the condoling song his name appears with the five other founders, but is not in the list of the 50 principal chiefs.

Mr Hale said, adhering to an early date, "If the League was formed, as seems probable, about the year 1450, the speeches and hymn, in their present form, may reasonably be referred to the early part of the next century." The song treats all the 50 original chiefs as dead, and laments the good old times.

There is no real discrepancy in referring the suggestion of the league to a Mohawk chief. Hi-a-wat-ha was an Onondaga, afterward adopted by the Mohawks, and his name, variously translated, is second in the list of their 9 principal chiefs, entitled to sit in the Grand Council. The Oneidas had 9 of these, the Onondagas 14, the Cayugas 10, and the Senecas 8, or 50 in all. When one of these dies, another is raised in his place and takes his name. The Senecas may always have formed two bands, accounting for two leading chiefs. In the Grand Council they

have the fewest of all, the attendance at first being determined by distance and interest, and the Senecas being the last to favor the league. In representation this made no difference, each nation having but one vote, and its chiefs agreeing what that should be.

Though there were these principal chiefs succeeding to the old titles, it is historically true that there were often more, increasing or diminishing as might be expedient. There are many cases where more than the regular number are mentioned, and principal chiefs were deposed or restored when desired. War chiefs were often leaders in war and assistants to the principal chiefs in peace, as they are now. There are impressive ceremonies for the raising of each, and they are usually nominated by the women, who have great power, but do not speak in council. Another class is of the pinetree chiefs, having their roots in the sky and their power from their goodness, but rules varied much.

The Hi-a-wat-ha legends are many and different. He was the reputed founder of the league in the way of suggestion and work, and the inventor of wampum with some, this being new to the Iroquois at the beginning of the 17th century. In most tales he travels through the nations, explaining his views and giving the national and council names by which they have since been known. Though slightly known before, Mr J. V. H. Clark first gave wide circulation to the story in its most fanciful and popular form, too well known to require repetition in detail. He had this from Onondaga chiefs. Ta-oun-ya-wat-ha comes to earth and delivers it from many evils, becomes a man indeed as Hiawatha, convenes a council, forms the league, and ascends to heaven again in his white canoe. Mr Clark said that Hiawatha's often quoted speech was a pure invention of his own. In all these tales the council ground is at Onondaga lake, though the Onondagas then lived a score of miles away. Schoolcraft had the story from Clark, and at last it took a western form.

The earliest of these tales was published by William Dunlap in 1839, in his *History of the New Netherlands.* He had it from the Onondaga interpreter, Ephraim Webster, and, not remembering the chief's name, he called him Oweneko. He was an

unselfish man, while the principal Onondaga chief was ambitious. By proposing to make him head of all, he at last secured his aid and the league was formed. It is curious that David Cusick said nothing of Hiawatha, while he described fully the appearance of Atotarho, nor does the latter come into Clark's tale of Hiawatha.

Of the plainer and more reasonable accounts the best is that of Horatio Hale, who grew eloquent over the story of this Indian sage. That his enthusiasm carried him too far, few will question, but no one will deny that he had a good subject for this. Hiawatha came of a race which was a match for European diplomacy and which produced many high-minded, heroic and chivalrous men.

Briefly the story runs like this. Hiawatha, He who seeks his Lost Mind which he knows where to find, (the Onondaga interpretation) was an Onondaga who wished the kindred nations of New York to abolish war among themselves. The Onondaga chief, Tadodaho, opposed this, being a grim and ferocious warrior, jealous of his own power. At a national council he defeated the project. A second followed with the same result, and at the third one Hiawatha was alone. Then he went to the Mohawks with many adventures on the way. In his camp, near the Mohawk town, some young men found him stringing a kind of wampum, made of quills, the use of which he explained. Then he and the great chief Dekanawidah met. The Mohawk chief approved the plan of union, and the Mohawks ratified it in council. The Oneida chief, Otatshehteh, was consulted, but deferred the question for a time. On his approval another council was held at Onondaga with the old result. Then the Cayugas were approached and gave a quick consent. Another council met at Onondaga and a new proposal was made. Tadodaho was to be the head of the confederacy, and the Onondagas were to keep the great council fire. This made both desirous to extend the league. The Senecas were consulted, and the office of military commanders was offered to two of their great chiefs, Ganyadariyo and Shadekaronyes. On their acceptance the final steps were taken at Onondaga lake.

David Cusick, however, said: "The Bear tribes nominate the Chief Warrior of the nation. The laws of the confederation provides the Onondagas to furnish a King, and the Mouhawks a great war chief of the Five Nations." In his own peculiar way he described the first ruler:

> About this time the Five Families become independent nations, and they formed a council fire in each nation, etc. Unfortunately a war broke out among the Five Nations: during the unhappy differences the Atotarho was the most hostile chief, resided at the fort Onondaga; his head and body was ornamented with black snakes; his dishes and spoons were made of skulls of the enemy; after a while he requested the people to change his dress, the people immediately drove away the snakes.

His name of Tatotarho or Tadodaho, The Entangled, alludes to this mythic feature. The principal Onondaga chief, however, was often called by the council name of the nation, and sometimes by what may be another official title. Cusick enumerated 13 successive Atotarhos down to the time of the discovery, and there have been several since. An attempt has been made to fix the date of the league from this, but the results are not reliable.

The names of the 50 principal chiefs follow, as given in the Onondaga dialect. They vary in the Seneca and Mohawk, in the latter of which they are commonly sung at condolences. The Mohawk chiefs are nine: Te-kie-ho-ke^{n}, Two Voices; Hi-e-wat-ha, One who seeks his Lost Mind which he knows where to find; Shat-e-kie-wat-he, Two Stories in One, i. e. the same story from two persons; Sah-e-ho'-na, He is a Tree with Large Branches; Te-yon-ha'-kwen, That which we live on; O-weh-he-go-na, Large Flower; Te-hah-nah-gai-eh-ne, Two Horns lying down; Has-tah-wen-sent-hah, Holding the Rattles; Sau-te-gai-e-wat-ha, Plenty of Large Limbs on a Tree.

The Oneida chiefs are also nine, as follows: O-tat-sheh-te or Tat-sheh-te, Bearing a Quiver; Ga-no-gwen-u-ton, Setting up Ears of Corn in a Row; Ty-o-ha-gwen-te, Open Voice; Sho-non-ses, His Long House; To-na-oh-ge-na, Two Branches of Water; Hat-ya-ton-nent-ha, He swallows his Own Body from

the Foot; Te-ha-tah-on-ten-yonk, Two Hanging Ears; Ha-nea-tok-hae-yea, Throat lying down; Ho-was-ha-tah-koo, They disinter Him.

The Onondagas have 14 chiefs in the grand council: Tah-too-ta-hoo, Entangled; Ho-ne-sa-ha', perhaps The Best Soil uppermost; Te-hat-kah-tous, Looking all over; O-ya-ta-je-wak, Bitter in the Throat; Ah-we-ke-yat, End of the Water; Te-hah-yut-kwa-ye, Red on the Wing; Ho-no-we-eh-to, He has disappeared; Ga-wen-ne-sen-ton, Her Voice scattered; Ha-he-ho, Spilling now and then; Ho-neo-nea-ne', Something was made for Him, or was Laid down before Him; Sha-de-gwa-se, He is bruised; Sah-ko-ke-he, He may see Them; Hoo-sah-ha-hon, Wearing a Weapon in his Belt; Ska-nah-wah-ti, Over the Water.

The Cayugas had 10 chiefs: Te-ka-ha-hoonk, He looks both Ways; Ta-ge-non-tah-we-yu, Coming on its Knees; Ka-ta-kwa-je, It was bruised; So-yone-wes, He has a Long Wampum Belt; Ha-ta-as-yon-e, He puts One on Another; To-wen-yon-go, It touches the Sky; Jote-to-wa-ko, Cold on Both Sides; Ta-hah-wet-ho, Mossy Place; Too-tah-he-ho, Crowding Himself; Des-kah-he, Resting on It.

There are eight Seneca chiefs: Kan-ya-tai-yo, Beautiful Lake; Sat-ta-kaa-yes, Skies of Equal Length; Sa-tea'-na-wat, He holds on to It; Sa-ken-jo-nah, Large Forehead; Ga-noon-gay-e, Threatened; Nis-hi-nea-nent-hah, The Day fell down; Kah-none-ge-eh-tah-we, They burned their Hair; Ta-ho-ne-ho-gah-wen, Open Door.

The Tuscaroras have nine principal chiefs, who are: Ta'-ha-en-te-yah-wak-hon, Encircling and holding up a Tree, which is also the council name; Sa-kwi-sā or Se-qua-ri-se-ra; Tah-ka-yen-ten-ah; Ta-wah-ă-kate; Kah-en-yah-che-go-nah; Ta-ka-hen-was-hen; Ho-tach-ha-ta; Na-wah-tah-toke, Two Moccasins Standing together; Sah-go-hone-date-hah, The One that spares Another. One or two of these may be doubtful, but none rank in the council as high as the others.

Besides the chiefs there was the distinguished rank of Agoianders, a kind of nobility made up of men and women, often referred

to in early writings. These persons had special duties and privileges, and one dance was called after them. The false faces and medicine societies do not correspond to them, though these have peculiar functions and honors.

Two of their national names were foreign to their language and came from their enemies. Mohawk is not an Iroquois word, nor could a Mohawk once pronounce it. For some time the Algonquin family lay between the Dutch and that nation, and both they and the English accepted the names known to those living near them. The Dutch called them Maquas or Bears, that clan being prominent. Hence Father Bruyas wrote: "Ganniagwari, A she bear; This is the name of the Mohawks." Their accepted name, however, was Canienga, At the Flint, or People of the Flint; commonly given as Annies or Agniers by the French. This was connected with the idea of striking fire with a steel, and the steel became their national symbol. As this was an early name they may have learned to use the steel from Cartier or others in Canada, long before the rest had any contact with Europeans, and Sir William Johnson derived their name from the steel itself. Bruyas gave *kannia* for gunflint, which is near the French form of the national name. As for our hornstone, usually termed flint, it was as abundant in all the other Iroquois territory as among the Mohawks. The use of this with the steel made a distinction.

The Dutch divided the Iroquois into Maquas and Senecas, Champlain into Iroquois and Entouhonorons, and later French writers into lower and upper Iroquois. They had everywhere a terrible reputation, which others should have shared. Roger Williams said: "The Maguauogs, or Men-eaters, that live three or four hundred miles west from us, make a delicious monstrous dish of the heads and brains of their enemies." Their common name of Mohawk came from another given by their enemies, Mohowaug, They eat Living Creatures.

Besides the national title each nation had a council name by which it was addressed in public conferences. David Cusick gave this for the Mohawks as Te-haw-re-ho-geh, A Speech

Divided. There are other interpretations, all referring to a division, mostly of words. Albert Cusick thought the best rendering, A Heart divided into Two Hearts, equivalent to our E pluribus unum, and perhaps referring to their peculiar union. The national boundary east was the top of the hills east of Schoharie creek; on the west it is said to have been at Little Falls. Northward they claimed to the rock Rogeo on Lake Champlain. Thence to the St Lawrence they asserted a joint ownership with their near relatives, the Oneidas. Their villages continually varied in number, changing from one side of the river to the other.

The Oneidas were closely akin to the Mohawks, and their language is much the same. Both used the letter L freely, that being of rare occurrence in the other nations, and their use as interpreters, with the Mohawks, has left a distinct impress on the Indian terminology of New York. Their early seat was probably in the St Lawrence valley, with forts north and south of Ogdensburg. They seem to have shared in the Mohawk exodus, and to have sought secluded and strong situations, as both Mohawks and Onondagas did. All three were for a time more exposed to hostile incursions than the Cayugas and Senecas, for the Neutral nation lay between the latter and the Hurons, and the Algonquins were far away. For this reason the early Oneidas never dwelt in the lowlands about Oneida lake and farther east, and no traces of them are found there. They sought the hills.

One early village east of Chittenango creek and Cazenovia lake seems theirs, but the earliest identified with their name was a mile southeast of Perryville, at a remarkable stone now destroyed, but long venerated by the Indians. It was a dark crystalline rock, quite erect and reaching about 7 feet above ground. Their name refers to this, being People of the Stone, or more exactly the Upright Stone. In 1615 they were at Nichols' pond in Fenner, a few miles away. That village also included a large boulder, and similar representative stones were selected as their villages moved northward. The Rev. Samuel Kirkland, an excellent authority, mentioned one in Westmoreland. The Oneida stone of 1796 was a somewhat cylindric boulder, weighing over 100

pounds. Another is in Forest Hill cemetery, Utica N. Y. *Aug* was often added to Oneida to signify locality, or *ronon* for people. Their council name is Ne-haw-re-tah-go-wah, or Big Tree, referring to Hiawatha's finding them by a large tree which they had just cut down.

The French usually termed their town Onneiout, and their name was first mentioned and castle described from within by Arent Van Curler in 1634. He thought them a part of the Senecas. The next year they appeared in the list of Iroquois nations in the Jesuit *Relation*. The Delawares termed the Mohawks Sankhicani, or Fire-striking People, a translation of their own name. The Oneidas were W'Tàssone, Stone Pipe-makers, from their excellence in this art.

Ononta, said an early French writer, means a hill or mountain. The present terminal in Onondaga is locative, and the word *ronon* was for a time added to signify people. Their Delaware name also referred to their situation. For a century they were on the hills near Limestone creek, in various places, leaving that valley in 1681, and making their home on Butternut creek for about 40 years more. Their removal to Onondaga creek is not so exactly known, but was not far from 1720. In that valley they have moved several times. The French found them on Indian hill, Pompey, in 1654, and first mentioned them in 1635. Van Curler came in contact with them early that year. The league was formed by Onondaga lake, and the Grand Council met in their town. Their council name is Seuh-no-keh-te, Bearing the Names, and sometimes the principal chief and town were called by this. As with all Indian names it is variously spelled.

The gradual increase in power or security is well illustrated by the nation's progressive removals from secluded to exposed situations. Champlain noticed this practice in speaking of the Hurons and Senecas in 1616: "Sometimes they change their Village of ten, of twenty, or thirty years, and transport it from one, two, or three leagues from the preceding place, unless they are constrained by their enemies to dislodge and to go far away, as the Antouhonorons had done from some 40 to 50 leagues."

The Seneca territory had included both sides of the Genesee valley, but, when the Huron war broke out, they withdrew their towns to the east side. Most writers make the duration of a town from 10 to 15 years. With the use of steel axes in getting fuel the time increased greatly.

The French at first called the Cayugas Onioenronons, and their principal town and country Onioen. Afterward they termed them Goyoguins, sometimes omitting the first letter. The Moravians called them Gajukas, equivalent to our Cayugas. Though the whole of Cayuga lake belonged to them, they lived mostly at the lower end and on the river below. In early days they were east of the lake, but afterward had several villages on the western shore, and others later on the Susquehanna and its branches.

David Cusick's name is much like the later French form, and he defines Go-yo-goh as Mountain rising from the Water. L. H. Morgan gave it as Gwe-u-gweh, At the Mucky Land; and Albert Cusick, in accord with interpretations elsewhere, as Kwe-u-kwe, Where they drew their Boats ashore. In every case there may be a reference to the high and firm land above the marshes. Their council name is Soh-ne-na-we-too-na, Great Pipe, and this is their symbol. The Delawares called them after the lake.

That Champlain, when he came from the Huron country in 1615, meant the lake of the Senecas by that of the Entouhonorons, or Lake Ontario, seems very plain. Between Entouhonorons and Sonnontouehronons there is less difference than often occurs in early writers. Champlain had noted that this people had drawn in their frontier towns, something needful to the Senecas alone. The question is rather whether he included some other Iroquois nations with them, as the Dutch did. This seems the case, and his words imply a loose confederation, such as might be expected at first. In describing his map he tells of the fort of 1615, where he "went to war against the Antouhonorons," elsewhere mentioned as an Iroquois fort. In another place he said this:

The Antouhonorons are 15 villages, built in strong positions; enemies of all others except the Neutral nation; their country is fine and in a good climate near the River St Lawrence, the passage of which they block to all other nations. . . The Yroquois and the Antouhonorons make war together against all the other nations except the Neutral nation. Carantouanis is a nation to the south of the Antouhonorons . . . from whom they are only three days distant.

Here are several particulars. The Antouhonorons were distinct from but allied with the Iroquois. They were south of Lake Ontario, but commanded the St Lawrence. They were at peace with the Neutrals. The Carantouanis lay three days south of them, and these have been placed near Waverly N. Y., and were also but three days from the fort in Madison county. The inference is that Champlain meant the Mohawks when he commonly spoke of the Iroquois, and sometimes included the other four nations as the Antouhonorons.

The French called the Seneca country Sonnontouan, and the Seneca people Sonnontouehronons or Tsonnontouans, which is very near the name of the Onondagas in meaning, implying dwellers on or among the great hills. Their common name is Algonquin, received by the Dutch from the Indians near the coast. Hon. George S. Conover derived it from the common word *sinni*, to eat, in allusion to cannibal tastes, or their being devourers of men in a more warlike sense. Horatio Hale, on the authority of Mr E. G. Squier, gave *Sinako* as the Delaware name for stone snakes, or as applied to the Senecas for mountain snakes. This word does not appear in Zeisberger's Delaware vocabulary; and Mr Hale spoke doubtfully of it. In fact, Heckewelder gave the Delaware name of the Senecas as Maechachtinni, Mountaineers, and he is good authority. Their council name is Ho-neen-ho-hone-tah in Onondaga, Possessing a Door. David Cusick gave it as Te-how-nea-nyo-hent, with the same meaning.

The Tuscaroras were added in 1714, their name signifying the Shirt-wearing People, and the confederacy has since commonly been termed the Six Nations. Their position is not equal to the

others, but more like that of our territories. Except by courtesy they have no votes, nor had they any title to the lands on which they lived till they secured their present reservation. Their council name is Tu-hah-te-ehn-yah-wah-kou, Those who embrace the Great Tree; perhaps because the Oneidas received them. The Indian idea is that the Five Nations are the house, the Tuscaroras like a woodhouse, built outside but attached.

In describing their symbols in 1736, the Onondaga device was a cabin on top of a hill, the Mohawk a flint and steel, the Oneida a stone in the fork of a tree, the Cayuga a great pipe, and the Seneca a mountain. Charlevoix made a curious but not surprising mistake in these signatures as made in 1700. Indian drawing is not yet artistic, and he said, "The savages signed, each one putting the mark of his nation at the foot of the treaty. The Onondagas and Tsonnontouans traced a spider, the Goyogouins a calumet, etc." The former were hills.

The relationship of the nations has sometimes changed, but at present the Mohawks, Onondagas and Senecas are the elder brothers; the Oneidas, Cayugas and Tuscaroras the younger. Pyrlaeus said that at first the Mohawks were the elder brother, the Oneidas eldest son, and the Senecas youngest son. Then the Tuscaroras became youngest son. The Mohawks were always considered the oldest brother, and the present arrangement is at least 150 years old. When chiefs die or are to be raised in either of these, the opposite brotherhood takes charge of all the ceremonies and installs the new chiefs. In Canada now, where every nation and chief corresponds to those in New York, there is a difference in voting. The older and younger brothers separately determine what their vote shall be, and, if they disagree, the Onondagas, as fire-keepers, have the casting vote. In this case the Onondagas sit in the center of the council house, and the representatives of the two brotherhoods are on opposite sides. Each announces its vote, and the fire-keepers do the same. The latter are supposed to kindle and cover the fire. There is a similar division of clans for games and feasts.

The names by which the league was called are less than some

have thought. The Algonquins of New Jersey and Pennsylvania termed the Andastes, or Susquehannas, Minquas. These were both the kindred and enemies of the Five Nations; and, after the Iroquois had subjugated them, the whole family was termed Mingo in Pennsylvania, as speaking the same language. Thus Logan the Cayuga is often called a Mingo. There were other foreign names of less note.

Their own name came from comparing their league to one of their long houses, having a door at each end and separate fires for each family through the length of the house. This title has been variously spelled and translated. The Moravians called them Aquanoschioni, prefixing a syllable, and rendering it Covenant or United People. Hale gave the Mohawk name as Rotinonsionni, They of the Extended House. Morgan gave the Seneca as Ho-de-no-sau-nee, People of the Long House. Bruyas interpreted Hotinnonsionni as Cabin-makers. The Onondaga name is Kan-no-se-o'-ne, A Long House made of Several Houses put together. David Cusick simply made the name Goo-nea-seah-ne mean Long House. The Rev. Mr Dellius, in 1694, thought Honontonchionni equivalent to "Konossioni, which is the whole howse, or all the Indians together." The *Relation* of 1654 said that the Iroquois call themselves "Hotinnonchiendi, that is to say, the finished cabin, as if they were only one family."

Charlevoix's fanciful account of the origin of the word, Iroquois, has been generally accepted till quite recently. He said, "The name of Iroquois is purely French, and has been formed from the term *hiro,* 'I have spoken,' a word by which these Indians close all their speeches, and *koue'*, which when long drawn out, is a cry of sorrow, and when briefly uttered, is an exclamation of joy."

The truth is that this was an early Algonquin name for this people, which Champlain had from the Indians on the lower St Lawrence in 1603, six years before he met the Iroquois on Lake Champlain, and when he could have known nothing of their speech. He seems to have found this in constant use east of that place, and before he encountered any people speaking the

Huron tongue. This fact invalidates Mr Hale's idea that it was of Huron origin, deriving it primarily from *garokwa,* a pipe, and thence from the indeterminate verb *ierokwa,* they who smoke. As all Indians smoked, this has no force. He hazarded another supposition, that, as Maquas were sometimes termed Bears, for which the Mohawk name was *Ohkwari,* and the Cayuga *Iakwai* (*Yekwai* in Schoolcraft), the term Iroquois might have come from this. Mr Brant-sero would derive it from the Mohawk *I-ih rongwe,* I am the Real Man; Mr David Boyle from *karakwa,* the sun. All these conjectures are plausible, but we must remember that the name was Algonquin, and that the termination was in common use by that family at that time, as applied to nations and tribes, having the force of the Iroquois *ronon* or people. One has but to remember the Abenaquois, Soriquois, Almouchiquois, Charioquois or Hurons, and many others, to see what the terminal means.

Recognizing its Algonquin origin, Mr J. N. B. Hewitt says it "suggests the Algonquin words *irin,* true or real; *ako,* snake; with the French termination *ois,* the word becomes *Irinakois.*" This is much better, if not quite satisfactory, but *quois* is still the terminal of many tribal names. It may have come from *ahki,* a place. Iroquet, a chief whose people were called after him, was also an Algonquin. The latest Algonquin dictionaries of the eastern nations do not contain Mr Hewitt's words. The nearest approach to *ako* is *achgook.*

Generally the site of the formative council has been placed on the northeastern shore of Onondaga lake, a very suitable spot, but some later Onondagas have assigned it to the center of Syracuse, equally unsuitable in early days. Some wampum belts have been made coeval with the league, a date much too early. Hiawatha's white canoe is prominent in the story, bringing him to his first labors and bearing him aloft when all was done. The latter suggests Christian teaching but was not foreign to aboriginal thought. Historically, as he left the lake for the Mohawk country, his white birch canoe may have been a strong contrast to the dark elm bark canoes of the rest.

One or two things more may be added about the league. At first it seems a loose alliance, holding periodical councils to prevent internal hostilities, but gradually becoming stronger and with more definite laws. In 1655 the Mohawks and Senecas were almost at war, and the former took defensive measures. Each nation made war or peace for itself, but, while this continued through all their history, they were most of the time a united people. Aggressive wars were popular, and all might heartily engage in these. When they were invaded, each nation took care of itself, sometimes proposing aid but giving none.

One feature should not be overlooked, the rank and great influence of women, of which many examples could be given. Some New York treaties bear their names. The children followed the mother's clan and nation, and the chief women had the power of naming principal chiefs for their clan or family. Speeches are made in the council for them but not by them, and Red Jacket was long their speaker. Peace or war, matters of general welfare, have often rested on their decision. Tilling the soil, they sometimes claimed its ownership. The most curious testimony to the estimation of women is the old Huron and Iroquois rule, that for a woman's life the atonement should be double that of a man.

Chapter 5

Weakness of early Iroquois. Good Iroquois or Hurons. First battle with Champlain. Preparations for this and location. Battle of 1610. Invasion of Iroquois in 1615. Route of Champlain. Siege of Oneida fort. Brulé's adventures. Coming of the Dutch and their maps. Supposed treaty at Tawasentha. Insufficient evidence. Efforts for peace between Algonquins and Iroquois. Dutch attack Mohawks. Fort Orange built. Renewed war between Iroquois and Canadian Indians. Mahicans sell their lands.

With all their bravery and wisdom, the Iroquois seem to have been barely holding their own when first known as residents in New York. Champlain came to Tadoussac in 1603, before he had seen them, and found the Indians, "rejoicing for the victory obtained by them over the Irocois, of whom they had killed some hundred, whose heads (scalps) they had cut off, which they had

with them for their ceremony." A thousand Etchemins, Algoumequins and Montagnez had defeated 100 Iroquois at the mouth of the river called from them, and flowing from Lake Champlain. They had to do this by surprise, for the Iroquois were more numerous than all three nations, controlling all the St Lawrence above Three Rivers. He got an account of the Mohawk country at this time, two rivers leading to it. The same year the Iroquois were again beaten in a small fight, though the odds were in their favor. While on the New England coast in 1605, Champlain saw a river which he thought went "toward the Hiroquois, a nation who have open war with the Montagnars, who are in the great river St Lawrence." They were not mentioned again till 1609.

It does not appear that Hudson encountered any Iroquois in his voyage of that year. Assertions of this have no sound basis, the Mohawks living many miles from the river and their enemies everywhere holding its banks. Champlain had a different fortune while exploring the land. In doing this, he met with the Hurons, whom he at first called Ochateguins from one of their chiefs, but learned that these were "good Yroquois. The other Yroquois, their enemies, are more to the south." These he soon sought.

He left the Chambly rapids on the River of the Iroquois, July 2, 1609, with 20 canoes and 60 Indians, called Montagnars from the mountains near Quebec. Two Frenchmen were with him. In Lake Champlain he came to four large islands, inhabited before the war. The eastern shore had then belonged to the Iroquois, but they now lived farther south, beyond Lake George, and the route was clearly described to him. July 29 they encountered 200 Iroquois, but the brief battle took place next day. It differed much from our ideas of Indian warfare. Some days before the chiefs of his party assigned each man his place and part by carefully arranging as many sticks, and there was a drill on this. The Iroquois had stone axes and some of iron, obtained in war or trade. Amicable arrangements were made for the morrow's combat by the opposing chiefs. Next day the Mo-

hawks advanced in good order, led by three chiefs, distinguished by their larger plumes. On landing, the Montagnars ran toward the enemy, but opened their ranks to let Champlain take the lead. The Mohawks halted at this new sight, and his first shot killed two chiefs and wounded a third, though clad in arrow-proof armor. This decided the contest, but many others were killed and some taken prisoners.

This meeting has been assigned to both Ticonderoga and Crown Point. For the former it may be said that they returned three hours after the fight, and yet Champlain saw Ticonderoga falls. For the latter, that the Iroquois came down the lake to the large point where they stopped, whence we might at first, but not conclusively, infer they were north of the portage. He added, "The place where this battle was fought is in 43 degrees some minutes latitude, and I named it Lake Champlain." Crown Point is very near the 44th parallel. In this case it is probable the Mohawks embarked at the head of Lake Champlain.

In 1610 he had another encounter with the Iroquois. Some Algoumequins and Montagnais had attacked a temporary fort in which 100 of their enemies had taken refuge, and were repulsed with the loss of some of their best men. Even the French were not at first successful, terrible as firearms were then to the Iroquois. Reinforcements came; Champlain had a tree felled across the barricade, and the place was carried by assault, few of the defenders escaping.

For some time there were but brief references to the Iroquois, and then Champlain took part in what was intended for a crushing, but was an unsuccessful blow. In 1615 he visited the Hurons, sometimes called the good Iroquois from their friendship for the Algonquins and the French, the latter known to them as the Agnonha or iron men. He commenced his journey July 9, with Etienne Brulé, the interpreter, a French servant and some Indians, ascending the Ottawa, part of which he had already traversed. Reaching the Georgian bay, he followed its shores to the Huron towns toward Lake Simcoe. The Recollect Father, Le Caron already had a mission there, and eight of his French-

men joined Champlain. Brulé was sent with some Hurons to notify a tribe of the Andastes, living on the Chemung river where it crosses the New York line, who wished to join in the attack with 500 men. To do this, he had to take a long and circuitous route, and did not arrive in time.

The Hurons, with Champlain and his nine men, crossed the country to the River Trent, where they found fields abandoned because of the war. Near the eastern end of Lake Ontario they crossed by one of two possible routes. The place where they left the lake is affected by this, but will not be discussed now. That the route crossed the outlet of Oneida lake is certain, and repeated examinations strengthen the claim that it then turned southeast, terminating at Nichols' pond in the town of Fenner. This is in the Oneida territory, and the local and archeologic features are satisfactory. On the site is a boulder 15 feet long, which may have been the Oneida stone of that day, giving it the name of the village of the stone, or rather continuing it from the town last occupied.

The stockade was made of four rows of palisades, crossing at the top and affording broad though rude battlements, reached by simple ladders. It extended some distance into the very shallow pond, thus securing a supply of water which could not be cut off and which readily extinguished every fire. The bark gutters for domestic use became a means of saving the town from the enemy. Here Champlain encamped Oct. 10, remaining till the 16th. The Iroquois still feared firearms, but less than at first, and, as they retreated, told the French "not to meddle in their fights." Champlain made a movable tower, and 200 men placed it near the wall. The Arquebuses drove the Iroquois from the gallery, but the untrained Indians took no advantage of this, and all efforts to burn the town failed. Champlain was wounded and the Hurons discouraged. Nothing was accomplished, but they agreed to wait four days for their allies. Some skirmishes followed, the French saving the Hurons in each. The 500 men not coming at the time agreed, they made litters for the wounded and decamped. Champlain was carried on one of these

for several days in great discomfort, but the boats were reached in safety.

Two days later Brulé and his Indians came and did nothing. The Iroquois were encouraged, having beaten the white men; the Oneidas were not destroyed, nor the confederacy severed in twain. The forest fight had far-reaching consequences, though it may be doubted whether the Iroquois had a lasting resentment against the French because of this. Champlain went back to the Huron country, where he spent the winter. The next spring he could get no guides, as the Hurons wished to retain him for another expedition, but at last he got away. Brulé spent the winter at Carantouan or Big Tree, and explored the Susquehanna to the sea. He did not return to the French till 1618, and then had a curious tale to tell. Trying to cross the country of the Iroquois, he fell into their hands, and escaped death by his boldness, tact and good luck. He visited Lake Superior and the copper mines during this period, and at a later day was killed in a Huron town.

Meanwhile the Dutch were trading on the Hudson, as far as the head of navigation, and two maps have been published assigned to 1614 and 1616, containing a good deal relating to the interior west of that river. One of these is partly reproduced, and is on a smaller scale than the older one. The latter has the Maquaas on the north side of the Mohawk river, and on the south side the Canoomakers, probably an Indian and not European word. South of a large lake are the Senecas, and on what may be the Chemung at Carantouan are the Gachoos. The Capitanasses and Minquaas are farther down the Susquehanna, the latter people extending far eastward. Between these, but farther west, are the Iottecas. This is the map of 1614, and the maker of it said:

Of what Kleynties and his Comrade have Communicated to me respecting the locality of the Rivers, and the position of the Tribes which they found in their Expedition from the Maquaas into the interior and along the New River downwards to the Ogehage, (that is to say, the Enemies of the aforesaid northern tribes,) I can not at present find any thing at hand, except two

rough drafts of Maps relating thereto, partly drawn with accuracy. And in deliberately considering how I can best reconcile this one with the rough drafts Communicated, I find that the places of the tribes of the Sennecas, Gachoos, Capitanasses, and Jottecas, ought to be marked down considerably further west into the Country.

The map of 1616 is on a smaller scale and embraces part of Canada. While retaining the main features of the other, the lettering is by a different hand and there are slight changes in the spelling. Lake Champlain is far to the east and is labeled "Hcf Meer Vand Irocoisen." Its eastern shore is called Irocoisia, a sufficient refutation of the story of Charlevoix. East of this is the country of the Almouchicoisen in New England, showing again an early use of this terminal by the Algonquins. The note on French sloops and the Mohawks is on this map.

A petition, to which this chart was annexed, was read to the officials of the States General Aug. 18, 1616, asking that they would "be pleased to hear the aforesaid Cornelis Hendrickxzen's Report, and to examine the aforesaid Map and Discovery." The discovery was of a bay and three rivers southwest of the mouth of the Hudson. One item is of interest: "He also traded for, and bought from the inhabitants, the Minquaees, three persons, being people belonging to this Company; which three persons were employed in the service of the Mohawks and Machicans; giving for them kettles, beads and merchandize."

Champlain said the people of Carantouan took these three men in war in 1614. They could safely trade on the Hudson with the Mahicans, but, to trade with the Mohawks, an inland journey must be made. On one of these trading trips they were made prisoners. Champlain said their captors returned them without harm, thinking they were French. "Otherwise these three prisoners would not have been suffered to get off so cheaply." Through the Hurons the Susquehanna Indians had a good opinion of the French. All were foes of the Iroquois.

Connected with this early trade is the story of a Dutch and Iroquois treaty at Tawasentha, or Normans kill, below Albany, credited by many on very small proof. This was in the Mahican

territory, two days' journey from the Mohawk frontier. Between these there was almost constant warfare. When Van Curler visited the Mohawks in 1642, there was no formal treaty with them, and the first one was made in 1645. This was often referred to in later days. As the fort was an early trading post, there may have been a council with the Mahicans, the owners of the land.

In connection with French and English claims this story had importance, and evidence was framed to fit the case. Of this kind was that of Catelyn Trico, a Frenchwoman who testified in 1688 to this effect, that she went to Albany, then called Fort Orange, in 1623, and stayed there three years, living in New York and on Long Island always afterward. That she was 83 years old, and that during her stay at Albany "ye Mahikanders or River Indians; ye Maquase: Oneydes: Onnondagages, Cayouges. & Sinnekes, wth ye Mahawawa or Ottawawaes Indians came & made Covenants of friendship wth ye s^{d} Arien Jorise there Commander," with other remarkable incidents distinctly remembered 62 years later. At that time there was no way for the Ottawas to reach Albany; and, when they came in the 18th century, they said they had never been there before. Most of the Five Nations were not recognized by the Dutch by these names till 1662, nor were they in common use till the second English occupation, but the venerable Mrs Trico remembered just what Governor Dongan wished.

Pyrlaeus made a note more to the point regarding the place, when he wrote in 1743:

> According to my informant, Sganarady, a creditable aged Indian, his grandfather had been one of the deputies sent for the purpose of entering into a covenant with the whole Europeans; they met at a place called Nordman's Kill, about four miles below where Albany was built, where the covenant of friendship was first established, and the Mohawks were the active body in effecting this work.

If this Indian were then 70 years old and his father 30 at his birth—certainly a fair allowance—his grandfather might have

attended the first historic council with the Mohawks in 1645, and have been then 40 years old. It seems needless to take 30 years from this date and make the grandsire a boy.

The Algonquins and Iroquois had been at war over 50 years when they began to talk of peace in 1622. June 2 two Iroquois came to Three Rivers to confer about this and were well received, after which they returned home with four deputies and many presents. Six weeks later the deputies came back, having been heartily welcomed by the Mohawks. Unfortunately a troublesome fellow, who went with them, treacherously killed an Iroquois on the way, and it was feared the war would be renewed. The Iroquois were considerate, thinking it a piece of personal malice, sent six more deputies and concluded peace in the spring of 1624.

Le Clercq said that early in 1622, 30 Iroquois canoes passed Three Rivers and attacked the Recollect convent near Quebec, but he often erred, though positive in this statement. Neither Champlain nor Sagard mentions it, nor does it harmonize with other events.

Meanwhile the Dutch were busy. In the spring of 1623 a "ship sailed up to the Maykans,"—not to the Mohawks. The distance was estimated at about 132 English miles, and the colony built Fort Orange on Castle island. "Right opposite is the fort of the Maykans, which they built against their enemies, the Maquaees, a powerful people." These were then at war, and in 1626 the former asked help of the Dutch, who were willing. Commander Krieckebeck and six others marched with them toward the Mohawk country. A league from the fort they met the Mohawks, armed with bows and arrows, and were defeated, the Dutch commander and three of his men being killed. The Mohawks cooked and ate one and burned the rest, reserving an arm and leg as trophies for those at home. Peter Barentsen, their favorite trader, visited them a few days later, for they could not come to the river to trade. They said "they had never injured the whites, and asked the reason why the latter had meddled with them. Had it been otherwise, they would not have

acted as they had." It is evident there was then no treaty of friendship.

De Laet makes the statement that a fort was built at Albany in 1614 and constantly occupied till 1617. Also that Henry Christians first commanded, and in his absence James Elkens, who received authority from the States General in 1614. This seems well attested. Elkens traded near Fort Orange in 1633, and testified that he had lived four years with the Indians. He was then 42 years old, which would have made him 23 in 1614. Another witness said that, if they could have stayed there another month, the Mohawks would have brought them 4000 beaver skins, and the Mahicans 300 more. Only through such trade could they get wampum and other supplies.

The report of the fight between the Mohawks and Dutch reached Canada in a few days, and some Canadian visitors, the next winter, were solicited by the Mahicans to break the peace already made and take sides with them. Some favored and some opposed this, but the war feeling was so strong that some Iroquois deputies were badly treated. Another violent act occurred. In 1627 a Frenchman went on a peace embassy to the Mohawks, with some Canadian Indians. Some Senecas came who had recently suffered from the Algonquins, and in their rage they at once killed all the ambassadors before the Mohawks could prevent it. The Algonquins retaliated by torturing an Iroquois hostage, and war followed. It is probable these Senecas were of nations east of those to whom the name was afterward restricted.

The temporary subjection of Canada to the English came in 1629, but in the privations which preceded this Champlain seriously thought of seizing one of the Iroquois towns, with 50 or 60 Frenchmen, "passing there the rest of the summer, autumn and winter, rather than to die of hunger one after another in the plantation."

Soon after most of the Mahicans left the Hudson because of the war, but still retained their territorial rights, as was then the custom. It was a favorable time to buy Indian lands, and Kiliaen Van Rensselaer embraced the opportunity in 1630, acquiring most

of the Mahican lands near Rensselaerwyck and west of the river to the Mohawk border, and on the east side to the same extent. No Mohawk names are on his deeds. Some land was added on the east in 1637, and his tract was 24 miles long and 48 wide. With no Mahicans now intervening, the Dutch had closer relations with the Mohawks. A few Mahicans lingered in their old homes and those who had removed were sometimes hostile, but at a later day many returned to New York and the old foes became allies and friends.

Chapter 6

French visit Hurons and Neutrals. Daillon in New York. Increase of Iroquois trade and strength. War with Canadian Indians. Van Curler's journey to Oneida. Each of the Five Nations first mentioned by name. Fear of Mohawks in New England. Canoe fight. Huron war continues. A Neutral tribe joins the Hurons. Eries described. Iroquois retaliate on French. Montreal founded. Onontio. French forts built. Jogues taken. Mohawk sacrifice.

Meanwhile the French power was developing in Canada, opposed to the Dutch in religion, nationality and trade, and this soon greatly affected the Iroquois nations. Of their kindred north of Lake Erie brief mention has already been made. All were populous and powerful, but less warlike than others. Their towns were well defended, but not so well as those of the Iroquois. During war they abandoned many of their frontier towns, and thus the Petuns and Hurons, once having towns farther east, were now thickly grouped between Lake Simcoe and the Georgian bay. The researches of Mr A. F. Hunter and others in locating and describing the ossuaries and town sites of these nations, have greatly enlarged our knowledge of their strength and age, and have shown the way in which they drew back into their historic abodes. The Neutrals seemed to have little to dread, and yet at last withdrew their outlying villages in New York, confining themselves to their territory between Niagara and Detroit.

These populous nations quickly attracted the attention of both missionaries and traders. Father Joseph le Caron went to the Hurons in 1615, with 12 French traders. Champlain found him

there, and he remained during his Iroquois expedition. The following winter he visited the Petuns, or Tionontaties. He was a Recollect and returned to Quebec with Champlain in 1616. Father William Poulain, another Recollect, was a prisoner to the Iroquois for a short time in 1621, but was exchanged. He took the opportunity of teaching some Iroquois prisoners, taken by his friends, hoping some day to visit them, and made a brief visit to the Hurons in 1622. In 1623 Father Nicholas Viel and Le Caron, with Brother Gabriel Sagard, were there for a few months, Viel remaining for nearly two years. De la Roche Daillon, another Recollect, was there in 1626, going thence to the Neutral nation, of whom he gave many particulars. He was the companion of Father Jean de Brébeuf and of Father Anne de Nouveë, the Jesuits, when they went to the Hurons that year. In 1628 Brébeuf was there alone, and was ordered to Quebec in 1629. The English occupation hindered missionary work, but linguistic studies were maintained. Brébeuf, Daniel and Davost went to the Hurons in 1634. After this we have those graphic and thrilling relations of missionary experience among savages, which have stirred the hearts of men ever since and have yielded such treasures to the student of aboriginal life. Without following this work in detail among a people lying outside our borders, it seems proper to give this brief introduction to what at last became an important factor in New York history.

Daillon went to the Neutrals in October 1626, and may have visited New York. He was at a village called Ounontisaston, when "ten men of the last village, called Ouaroronon, one day's journey from the Iroquois, their relatives and friends," called and invited him there. They went off, but returned and plundered him. This seems to refer to the Ouenrohronon, A Separate People, rather than town, who afterward fled to the Hurons.

With the expulsion of the Mahicans and the sale of their lands the Iroquois trade had a new impetus. The Dutch had learned to make wampum by improved methods, having used it from the first, and the Iroquois bought large quantities. They sold guns at a great profit, for the Mohawks were greedy of these and

soon became excellent marksmen. This became the real foundation of their great power, though they were good warriors before.

A Dutch document of 1646 says of this new feature that "they have now achieved many profitable forays where before they had but little advantage; this caused them also to be respected by the surrounding Indians even as far as the Sea coast, who must generally pay them tribute, whereas, on the contrary, they were formerly obliged to contribute to these."

The war with the Canadian Indians still continued. When some missionaries were making their first ascent of the St Lawrence in 1632, they found as low down as Tadoussac a party which had returned with nine Iroquois prisoners, and their tortures were graphically described. One strong and courageous chief sang during his tortures at Quebec. "When they came to tell him he must die, he said, as if very glad, 'Well, I am satisfied. I have taken many Montagnards; my friends will take more of them, and will well avenge my death.'"

Though the French had killed many Iroquois, they first retaliated in 1633, when they killed two Frenchmen and wounded four more. In the same year 30 or 40 Iroquois boarded a French shallop, but withdrew when aid came.

The next year the Senecas defeated the Hurons in the spring, and the latter promptly made peace with them and hoped to do so with the other four nations. Negotiations were in progress the following year, but an account in 1636 shows the independent character of the several nations. A young Seneca did not favor this peace, and married among the Onondagas that he might have liberty to continue in the field. He was taken prisoner with seven others, while fishing in Lake Ontario, and the story of his death is of the most tragic character, bringing out some curious features of aboriginal life. After his first torture he was treated most tenderly, was handsomely dressed and presided at his own farewell feast, before the final and terrible scene. The Iroquois sometimes treated their own captives much like this, but usually subjected them to every indignity from the outset.

It was in December 1634 that Arent Van Curler made a trip from Fort Orange to Oneida, passing through all the Mohawk towns, then on the south side of the river. There were four castles and some villages, the first of which he reached on the morning of the third day. These were Onekagoncka, Canowarode, Senatsycrosy, Netdashet, Canagere, Sohanidisse, Osguage, Cawaoge, and Tenotoge. His itinerary is of interest, and it is the earliest we have of that part of New York. He left the Mohawk at the last castle, taking the usual direct trail over the hills to Oneida, then on the upper waters of Oneida creek. It will be remembered that most trails are not very old, changing as the towns changed place. At Oneida he considered himself in the Seneca country, but met a deputation of Onondagas there, being the first mention of these two nations by name. In an Oneida speech or song which he recorded, the names of all the upper Iroquois may be seen. He returned the same way in January 1635.

In the *Relation* of 1635 the sedentary nations are named, and it is added, "The Hurons are the friends of all these peoples, except the Sonontoerrhonons, Onontaerrhonons, Oüioenrhonons, Onoiochrhonons, and Agnierrhonons, all of whom we comprehend under the name of Iroquois." The third of these were the Cayugas, whose early name is elsewhere properly Oniouenhronons. In a list of 1639 the Konkhandeenhronon erroneously come between the Onondagas and Cayugas. This list of sedentary nations is larger than the first and some are of another family.

In 1635 the Hurons kept some Iroquois prisoners to treat for peace, but there came a report that the Little Nation of the Algonquins had been defeated by the Iroquois, who took some prisoners. This destroyed plans for peace. The next year the Little Nation burned some Iroquois prisoners, and asked the Hurons to join them in the war. An Algonquin war party also returned to Tadoussac, Aug. 10, with 28 prisoners and scalps, including men, women and children, and efforts for peace were fruitless.

At this time Brébeuf estimated the Hurons at 20 villages and 30,000 people. His means of judging were good. Champlain reported 18 villages and 10,000 adults, about the same population, though they had suffered greatly by war.

Meanwhile the Iroquois were making their power felt, buying guns and becoming excellent marksmen. A little later the Mohawks had 400 men carrying guns, which few of their enemies could procure. The cry that Mohawks were near always created a panic among New England Indians, and they were equally dreaded by others. Colden said, much later:

I have been told by Old Men in New England, who remembred the Time when the Mohawks made War on their Indians, that as soon as a single Mohawk was discovered in the Country, their Indians raised a Cry from Hill to Hill, A Mohawk! A Mohawk! upon which they all fled like Sheep before Wolves without attempting to make the least Resistance, whatever the Odds were on their Side.

When the Pequot chief Sassacus fled in 1637, he sought refuge in their country, but was surprised and slain by one of their bands. One of the charges against Miantonimo, in 1643, was that he had hired the Mohawks to fight against the New England colonists, and that they were within a day's journey, awaiting his people. This was unfounded. They often fought against the Indians of New England, but seldom molested the colonists. They also made inroads on the wampum-makers, as some Indians of the seashore were often called, and these became tributary. It should be remembered that all this was after the coming of the whites. Their great power was within historic times.

The Iroquois canoes were of elm bark, and of clumsier construction than the Canadian birch canoes, being easily known at a distance. When abandoned they were sometimes useful to others, and thus a young Indian gave the French a great alarm in 1637. It is noticeable how generally successful the Canadian Indians were in canoe fights, perhaps a result of better boats and greater nautical skill. In this year, in such a contest between the Iroquois and the nation of Iroquet, 13 of the former were captured. On the other hand 500 Iroquois held Lake St Peter and

captured 30 Hurons. A band of 150 Iroquois was also near the French settlements, making their presence known. "This they knew from the little sticks attached to a tree, to show who they were and how many."

The older Hurons now wished peace, but some young warriors began war against the Senecas. It meant ruin, but it was resolved to support them. It was then that the Ouenrohronons, a border tribe of the Neutrals, sought refuge with the Hurons and were hospitably received. They seem to have lived in New York and suffered much in their removal, the French estimating their journey at 240 miles.

In 1639, a party led by Oronkouaia, an Oneida chief, was defeated by the Hurons, who killed nearly a score. The leader was tortured fearfully, and his hand was thrown into the house of the Jesuits, with insolent words, they having baptized him. This war involved the Algonquins, who feared the presence of the Iroquois everywhere and gave the French a thousand alarms.

In 1640 Brébeuf and Chaumonot visited the Neutral country but not New York, their outposts being mostly withdrawn. Their strength was then estimated at 12,000 people in 40 villages. Parkman thought that "they, and not the Eries, were the Kahkwahs of Seneca tradition." The Hurons would allow neither these nor the Petuns to pass their country to trade with the French, and the Neutrals were too poor boatmen to brave the waves of Lake Ontario.

Mr O. H. Marshall also thought the Kahkwahs and Neutrals the same. On Coronelli's map of 1688 a village was placed near the site of Buffalo called Kakouagoga, A Nation destroyed, and Eighteen Mile creek is called by the Senecas Gah-gwah-geh, Residence of the Kahkwahs. This was probably the southern boundary of the Neutrals, and Gallatin gives *kahquahgoh* as the Seneca word for south, so that the name might refer to the nation, or position, or both. The Senecas told Schoolcraft that they destroyed the Kahkwahs at this creek in 1755, and he thought 100 years should be deducted from this. He also gave

Governor Blacksnake's well known story. The Kahkwahs challenged the Senecas to athletic contests, and were beaten with sanguinary results. Mortified and angry, they went home and were soon on the warpath. Learning their purpose, the Senecas went forth to meet them, and after a long and hard battle were victorious.

David Cusick gave the common Iroquois belief when he said: "About this time the Kanneastokaroneah or Erians sprung from the Senecas, and became numerous and powerful nation, occupying the country lying between the Genesee and Niagara rivers."

This name is quite different from Kahkwah; but, while Erie means a cat, *kahkwah* is an eye swelled like a cat's. Another identification has been suggested by the traditional overthrow of the Squawkie Indians. David Cusick also gave the primitive name of Lake Erie as Kau-ha-gwa-rah-ka, correctly interpreted as a cap, and this by contraction resembles the word in question. However this may be, it seems reasonable to make Eighteen Mile creek the boundary between the Eries and Neutrals. In the *Relation* of 1641 we are told that of the Neutral towns "there are three or four on the eastern side [of Niagara river], extending from east to west toward the Eries or Cat Nation." These may have remained awhile longer.

In 1640 the Iroquois were enraged by a French collision, and proclaimed that the Hurons and French should be treated alike. The Mohawks captured two Frenchmen and took them home in triumph, as living evidences that they could cope with the whites. Some of the upper Iroquois delivered them that they might become messengers of peace, and came to Three Rivers with the captives, June 15, 1641, with 20 well armed canoes. They wished peace with the French, but plundered four Algonquin canoes in their sight, having determined to exterminate the Algonquins and Montagnais. They also proposed a French settlement in the Mohawk country, but negotiations failed, and they at once became hostile, so sudden were their changes. One party destroyed five Huron canoes a little farther west, killing or capturing those on board. So great was their rage, so per-

severing their hostility, that they sought out and destroyed an Algonquin camp in a remote northern wilderness, in the depth of winter, treating their prisoners with horrible cruelty. A Huron village was also destroyed that year.

The site of Montreal was selected in 1641, near the spot where Hochelaga had stood a century before. The *Relation* of 1646 says: "This island is in some fashion the frontier of the Annierronnons Iroquois." Governor Montmagny and Sieur Maison-neuve went there May 17, 1642, to take possession of the island and commence the first buildings with solemn religious services and a feast. Two Indians present stood on the mountain top, as before mentioned, where their ancestors had lived. The grandsire of one had cultivated the land on which they stood. They said: "The Hurons, who were then our neighbors, chased our ancestors from this country; some retired toward the land of the Abnaquiois, the others to the land of the Iroquois, and one part turned to the Hurons themselves, united with them, and behold the island was rendered almost a desert." This has been variously explained. Mr Shea proposed interchanging Hurons and Iroquois, making the latter the aggressors, but this is no real improvement. It is rather probable that, after the withdrawal of the Iroquois to New York, the Hurons did attack the Algonquins who had dwelt by them, and who remained behind. Traditionally the Hurons did receive a new nation about that time, and the Iroquois always welcomed accessions to their numbers. Among these Algonquins who went to their land, may have been many old friends.

It was in 1641 that Governor Montmagny was called from his name, Onontio, or Great Mountain, afterward the title of Canadian governors. In 1642 he commenced forts on the Sorel, or River of the Iroquois, to check their war parties, which seemed everywhere and were well supplied with guns by the Dutch. Charlevoix said that Montmagny complained of this to the Dutch governor, who replied in a courteous but vague way. In this year Father Isaac Jogues was taken by the Mohawks, with two French companions, while on the St Lawrence with a party of

Hurons, traveling in 12 canoes. The French might have escaped, but Jogues would not leave his Huron friends, nor would his French comrades desert him. In hastening to his aid William Couture killed a great Indian chief. They were carried to the Mohawk towns, suffering greatly there and on the way.

The same year 11 Huron canoes were coming down to Three Rivers with furs, when they were attacked by the Iroquois on the Ottawa river, 150 miles above Montreal. While building their new fort on the River of the Iroquois, the French were suddenly assailed by 300 of that people, and were in great danger of being cut to pieces. Recovering from their surprise, they repulsed the attack, but the enemy retreated in good order.

While the Mohawks held the St Lawrence and waylaid parties on the Ottawa, other bands were active in the Huron country all the time, but with some reverses. The bold Huron chief, Ahatsisteari, not only overcame a party larger than his own, but afterward attacked and destroyed a fleet of great Iroquois canoes by his own skill and daring. Some he overturned, killing or capturing their crews in the water.

That year Van Curler again visited some of the Mohawk towns, where he saw Jogues and his two companions. His account of their fears differs from that of the *Relations*. He wrote also as though there were then no treaty between the Iroquois and Dutch, though good friends. He said, "I brought presents there and asked that we should live as good neighbors, and that they should do no harm to either the colonists or their cattle."

René Goupil was killed soon after among the Mohawks and the other captives suffered much. Jogues escaped in 1643 by the aid of the Dutch, and went to Europe for a while. That spring the Mohawks went to collect tribute toward the seashore and took him along to show him to some of these people. This may help to explain a statement in early Dutch writers, regarding a visit to New Amsterdam or vicinity that year, of 80 Mahicans from near Fort Orange, armed with guns, who came to levy

tribute on the Indians along the lower Hudson. The Mahicans had left Albany before this and all the circumstances show a mistake in the name. The Indians left their homes for fear of these Mohawks, for such they clearly were, sought refuge with the Dutch and were massacred by them. The Mohawks were not responsible for this. Ruttenber thought these visitors were Mahicans, all agreeing in the name, but the Dutch did not see them, and the mere name was liable to be mistaken.

One account by Jogues is of the Mohawk sacrifice to Aireskoi, where a woman was burned, or rather roasted and eaten. In his amiable desire to exalt the Iroquois character, Mr Hale said that "the Iroquois never burnt women at the stake," but sex made no difference in this, as many incidents show.

Several early writers describe this particular Mohawk offering, almost in the words of Jogues, but without reference to him. Mourning their remissness in not eating some captives in honor of Aireskoi, they had substituted bears at their feast, promising to do better in the future, and women were their next prisoners. One was selected as a victim:

> When this woman was tortured, at every burn, which they caused by applying lighted torches to her body, an old man, in a loud voice, exclaimed, "Demon Aireskoi! we offer thee this victim, whom we burn for thee, that thou mayest be filled with her flesh, and render us ever anew victorious over our enemies." Her body was cut up, sent to the various villages and devoured.

The *Relation* of 1643 divides the Iroquois into Senecas and Mohawks, and says they were once inferior to the Hurons, but now surpassed them in numbers and strength, the Mohawks alone having 300 guns, well used by them. The Iroquois captured 23 Hurons and 13 canoes that year near Montreal and attacked the French. Eight Algonquins were taken near Three Rivers and a war party was defeated with much loss. In this party was Pieskaret, a brave and high-minded Algonquin chief, of whom many stories are told.

Chapter 7

Change in Iroquois warfare. Dread of their coming. Ten parties. Bressani captured. Iroquois tortures. Pieskaret's success. Prospects of peace. Kiotsaeton. Oneidas adopt Mohawks. Iroquois success. Dutch treaty of 1645. French and Mohawk treaty of 1646. Embassy and death of Jogues. Pieskaret killed. His exploits. French ask aid of Massachusetts. Capture of Annenraes by Hurons and his escape. Peace negotiations with Onondagas. Skandawati's death. Eries. Huron towns destroyed. Death of missionaries. Huron towns abandoned and one adopted by Senecas. Overthrow of Petuns and death of Garnier. Neutrals destroyed. Huron treachery. Iroquois extend their conquests.

The Iroquois now changed the conduct of the war. Instead of sending a few large parties at certain periods, they kept small parties coming and going all the time, so that there was never any safety above Three Rivers. One of these bands brought a letter from Jogues, but it was fired on and they were much enraged at him. The St Lawrence and Ottawa were both closed by 10 Iroquois bands in the spring of 1644, and one of these captured Father Bressani, who was afterward ransomed by the Dutch.

The Hurons were faring badly. One of their frontier towns had been destroyed in the fall of 1642, and a party of 100, returning from Montreal, lost all their goods and 20 men in a fight on the way. On the other hand, the Hurons took three of their enemies in 1644, but the Algonquins abandoned both their homes and hunting grounds. The fear of the Iroquois was everywhere, so swift were their movements. They came like foxes, attacked like lions, and fled like birds. About this time Father Vimont said: "I would as soon be besieged by hobgoblins as by the Iroquois. The one is scarcely more visible than the other. When they are afar off, one believes that they are at our doors; when they throw themselves upon their prey, one imagines that they are in their own land."

Two of the Iroquois parties mentioned went to the Sault Chaudière, a place noted for Iroquois ambuscades and Huron defeats. At this spot the Indians used to collect offerings in a chaudière, or kettle, casting it and its contents into the water to procure a safe journey. The third went to the foot of the Long Sault of the Ottawa, and the fourth lay in wait above Montreal. The

fifth band of 80 warriors lay hidden on the island of Montreal for three days, and this was attacked by the French. The latter were repulsed with the loss of five men, two of whom were tortured and burned. The sixth band of 40 men went toward the River of the Prairies, capturing a party of Algonquins, most of whom were burned in the Iroquois villages. The seventh took Father Bressani and some Hurons. In this band were some naturalized Hurons and Algonquins. The eighth met this one as it returned. The ninth party was on the River of the Iroquois, and the tenth went against the Hurons. Other small parties were out and the ground was well covered.

Bressani's captors sailed two days homeward, when they met a party who maltreated the prisoners. They sailed two days more, traversed the woods for six days, embarked on Lake Champlain and followed it for eight days in a leisurely way. Four days later they came to a fishery on the Hudson, where 400 Iroquois were encamped. They stopped there nearly a month, and there Bressani ran the gauntlet and was placed on the usual high scaffold, where he had to dance and was frequently burned. This scaffold torture may have been peculiar to the Iroquois, for on this platform they used a slow fire, torches, hot irons, and various means of torture, prolonging the pain as much as they could. He afterward suffered much in two Mohawk villages, but his life was spared and he was given to a woman whose grandfather the Hurons had killed. She thought him of little use, and sent him to the Dutch to see what they would give for him. The good Father did not tell how low was his price, but the Dutch gave more than had been expected and clothed him well.

It has been mentioned that three Iroquois prisoners were taken in 1644. The Algonquins readily gave theirs to the French, but the Hurons determined to take their two home, promising not to burn them, as there were hopes of peace. That summer the Iroquois destroyed a party of 100 Algonquins.

Pieskaret made one of his successful expeditions in 1645. With six Algonquins he killed 11 Iroquois, brought in two prisoners and returned in triumph. At the end of his speech he said: "I

saw, I killed, I took captive, I brought home; behold them present. I enter into your thoughts; they are good." Such a sententious speech would have been famous in Greece or Rome. He gave the prisoners to the governor, and the Iroquois were surprised at being delivered from death.

These were retained at Three Rivers, and Tokhrahenehiaron, who had been held as a prisoner through the winter, was sent to the Mohawks to see if they wished peace. July 5, 1645, three Mohawk chiefs came to Three Rivers with William Couture, who had been captured with Jogues and who now served as interpreter. The principal chief was Kiotsaeton, who brought 17 wampum belts. A peace council was held July 12, and this has been minutely described. Peace was agreed on, and the deputies went home. Other deputies were sent to Canada with 18 belts, and another council was held, Sep. 17 to 20. Peace was concluded, the Iroquois saying that the dead should not be now avenged, for "a living man is worth much more than many dead."

In this lively account one speech in the first council may be noted. Kiotsaeton wished the French to eat with the Mohawks in their own land, telling of its many good things and adding, "Leave these stinking pigs which run around your habitations, which eat nothing but what is filthy, and come and eat of good victuals with us."

In the second council there was a curious reference to the Oneidas, who were bitter enemies of the Hurons:

A village named Ononjote', incensed to the last degree against the Hurons, because these people in a combat killed almost all the men of this village, which was constrained to send to ask the Iroquois, named Agnerronons, with whom they had made peace, for some men to be married to the girls and women who had remained without husbands, in order that the nation should not perish. This is why the Iroquois name this village their child.

A striking scene ended this important council:

This discourse finished, the Iroquois set himself to sing and dance, he took a Frenchman on one side, an Algonquin and Huron on the other, and holding them embraced with his arms, they danced in cadence, and sang with a strong voice a song of peace.

The truce was kept by the Mohawks, who hunted freely with the Algonquins the following winter, to the astonishment of many. "Those who know the antipathies of these nations and their frightful inclinations for revenge, think that they see so many miracles when they see a friendly feeling between an Algonquin and an Iroquois." It did not affect the other four nations. Two bands of Hurons fell into their hands while going to trade with the French, and in 1645 they captured three other fleets. Early in the spring of that year an Iroquois party approached a Huron village and captured a troop of women going out to their morning work. So quickly were they placed in their canoes that 200 armed Hurons were unable to rescue them.

Toward the end of that summer some Huron and Iroquois warriors met in the forest, the former at first having the advantage. A parley followed, and, when the fight was resumed, the Hurons were beaten. A notable incident happened at a large Huron town soon after. An attack was feared and the people were prepared, young men being placed in the sentry boxes on the wall. They sang war songs loudly most of the night, but at last fell asleep. Some Iroquois warriors had crept to the base of the wall, and, when all was still, one climbed to the tower, split the head of one sentinel and threw the other down, where his comrades scalped him, making off so quickly that nothing could be done. Then Hurons went to the largest Seneca town, pierced one of the great cabins, choosing, killing and scalping each his man, and escaping from hundreds in swift pursuit.

There were other later encounters; but the Mohawks warned all that there was peace with them alone, and in presence of their ambassadors several Algonquin tribes made peace with the Dutch at New Amsterdam, Aug. 30, 1645. Van der Donck thus mentioned their first treaty with the Dutch that year:

In the year 1645, we were employed with the officers and rulers of the colony of Rensselaerwyck in negotiating a treaty of peace with the Maquas, who then were and still are the strongest and fiercest Indians of the country; whereat the Director General William Kieft, on the one part, and the chiefs of the Indian

nations of the neighboring country, on the other part, attended. To proceed with the treaty, the citizens of Rensselaerwyck procured a certain Indian, named *Aghcrocnse*, to attend and serve as interpreter, who was well known to the Christians, having been much among them.

Kiotsaeton and six other Mohawk deputies came to Montreal, Feb. 22, 1646, and a council followed at Three Rivers May 7. Bourdon and Jogues went to the Mohawks with presents and an escort May 16. "They arrived on the eve of S. Sacrement at the end of a lake which is joined to the great lake of Champlain. The Indian name is Andiatarocte', which is to say, There where the lake is shut in. The Father named it the lake of S. Sacrement." Six leagues from this lake they crossed the Hudson, there called Oiogue', At the River, and soon came to a fishing place named Ossarague', going thence to Fort Orange. The first Mohawk village was reached June 7, and was then called Oneugioure', formerly Osserion. Like most Indian towns it had other names.

There Jogues met some Onondagas, whose towns he never reached. He made them a present, asking that the French might visit their land. The Mohawks remonstrated. They were the door of the confederacy and the council fire should be approached through them. He held to his point, that the French might go to Onondaga in any one of three ways, and gained no Mohawk favor by this.

The French stayed but two days, but Jogues left a small trunk behind him, hoping to return. This caused new suspicions, as they feared it might hurt them. The Mohawks hastened their departure, as the other nations had parties out against the Hurons and they might be molested.

Sep. 24, 1646, Father Jogues left Three Rivers to go to the Mohawks for the last time, as he himself thought. A young Frenchman accompanied him, but they were at once seized, stripped and threatened when they arrived at the Mohawk town, Oct. 17, being told they would be killed next day but not burned. The Wolf and Turtle clans tried to save them, but the Bears had decreed their death. On the evening of the 18th Jogues was

called to supper, and, as he entered the lodge of the Bears, a man behind the door killed him with an ax. Thus died Ondessonk, whose virtues and sufferings have called forth the admiration of all. His head was cut off and placed on the wall, and his companion shared the same fate next morning, their bodies being cast into the river. A fine shrine, near Auriesville, now marks the supposed site of the death of the founder of the Mission of the Martyrs. Following this came a more determined war against the French.

Simon Pieskaret was one of the first victims, being treacherously slain in the spring of 1647, before he knew that peace was at an end. He was the noblest and most renowned Algonquin warrior of that day. Colden called him an Adirondack, and told some stories of his deeds. He went with four others, in one canoe, against the Iroquois. Each man had three muskets, loaded with two bullets connected by a small chain. In Sorel river they met five Iroquois canoes, each with 10 men. The Adirondacks pretended despair till they were quite near, when they all fired repeatedly on the Iroquois canoes, sinking every one, knocking the swimming Iroquois on the head or taking them prisoners. This seems an exaggeration of his exploit of 1645. At another time he went to an Iroquois village, killing some one three nights following. When pursued, he kept just ahead of his foes, turning and scalping them all while asleep at night.

While returning in 1646 from a foray 17 Oneidas encountered a canoe with 30 Huron warriors, and all disembarked. The sticks were placed as usual to mark each man's post and the war whoop was given. Both parties thought the other superior in force and both took flight, the sticks remaining when the warriors were gone. An escaping prisoner told the Hurons of their mistake and some pursued the Oneidas, taking one prisoner.

Fort Richelieu was burned this year, and there were many hostile acts in 1647. Some French shallops were attacked, and the Iroquois were everywhere, but the Mohawks again talked of peace. This hardly interrupted hostilities, and an encounter took place between the Hurons and Iroquois, near Three Rivers, in

which the latter were defeated with much loss. As a result, the French rejoiced to see 60 Huron canoes in the river, laden with furs, though the Iroquois were troublesome. About this time the French asked Massachusetts to aid them against the Mohawks.

Early in 1647 an Onondaga band, on the Huron frontier, was pursued with serious loss. One of the captives threw himself into a great kettle of boiling water to escape the tortures reserved for some. Annenraes, a noted chief, was spared, but toward spring he was again in danger and was aided to escape by the Huron chiefs. On the southern shore of Lake Ontario he found 300 Onondagas making canoes, in which to cross to avenge his death. There were already 800 Cayugas and Senecas on the road to aid them. The Onondagas gave up their warlike plans and returned home, sending a peace embassy from their towns to the Hurons. The Senecas continued their march and destroyed a town of the Aondironnons, a Neutral village nearest of all to the Hurons. The Neutrals did not resent this act, for which the Senecas had some excuse. The independent character of each of the Five Nations appears again. The Onondagas treated of peace; the Mohawks and Senecas kept the field.

In the spring of 1647 the Hurons sent deputies to the Andastes dwelling on the lower Susquehanna and Delaware, in response to an offer of aid made by them. They were in despair and asked these kinsmen to hear "the voice of their dying father land." They were several weeks on their way, arriving early in June with their pathetic tale:

> The speech that Charles Ondaaiondiont made at his arrival was not long. He told them that he came from the land of the Souls, where war and the terrors of the enemy had laid everything waste, where the fields were covered only with blood, where the cabins were filled only with corpses, and that there remained to them no life except what was needed to come to tell their friends that they might have pity on a land that was drawing to its end.

The Onondaga proposals gave the Hurons some hope, but the deputies from that nation found a people divided in opinion. Several councils were held before they agreed to send ambassa-

dors, the first Hurons to go there in that way. These left home Aug. 1, 1647, and were in Onondaga 20 days later, where they were warmly received and feasted for a month. A second Onondaga embassy returned with them, headed by Skandawati, a noted chief, 60 years old. Two others were with him and he brought back 15 Huron captives. They were 30 days on the way, reaching the Hurons Oct. 23. At this time the Onondagas and Cayugas favored peace; the Senecas and Mohawks opposed it.

In January 1748 a new Huron embassy was sent with one of the Onondagas, two remaining as hostages. This was attacked by the Mohawks and some Hurons were killed. Early in April Skandawati disappeared and was found dead by his own hand, lying on the bed of cedar boughs which he had prepared. His companion said:

> I knew that he would do a thing like this; that which hath cast him into this desperation is the shame which he had in seeing that the Sonnontoueronnons and Annieronnons come here to massacre you, even over your frontiers; for though they are your enemies they are our allies, and they ought to have shown us this respect, that having come here on an embassy, they should defer any evil stroke till after our return.

In one of their attacks near St Ignace, the Mohawks killed or captured 40 Hurons, and the Senecas over 30 in another place. Some Huron towns were abandoned. In a hunting party attacked by the Senecas was one of the Onondaga hostages. They forced him to be present when they took another party, giving him one of the prisoners. He demanded to be sent back to the Hurons, being an ambassador, saying that he would "die with them sooner than to appear to have acted as their enemy." He was allowed to return with his captive.

In the *Relation* of 1648 is the first circumstantial mention of the Eries. In the list of sedentary nations in 1635 they appear as the Rhiierrhonons, and in that of 1639 as the Eriehronon. From that of 1648 we may infer that they were at a considerable distance from the Iroquois, and probably in the central and

southern parts of Cattaraugus and Chautauqua counties. To their towns we may assign the Massawomekes, so much dreaded in early days in Virginia. In speaking of Lake Erie the *Relation* adds:

This lake, named Erie', was formerly inhabited on its southern coasts by certain peoples whom we call the nation of the Cat; who have been obliged to withdraw inland, in order to get away from their enemies, who are more toward the west. These people of the Cat have a number of fixed villages, for they cultivate the ground, and are of the same language as our Hurons.

The Andastes went to Onondaga to plead for the Hurons; but all negotiations failed, and their downfall came rapidly on, all the Iroquois suddenly turning against them and no one taking their part. In July 1648, Teanaustaye', or St Joseph, was attacked and taken, with another frontier village included in the same mission. The principal town had 400 families, but the men were mostly away at the time. There were many Christians there, and, while these were assembled for worship, there was a sudden alarm and universal terror. Some ran to fight and others to fly. Father Antoine Daniel stood where the peril was greatest, encouraging the Hurons and baptizing many. The assault became more furious and resistance was vain. He went to his church with his flock, going forth alone to meet the enemy when they came on with savage yells. His boldness checked them but for a moment. He was quickly slain and the place destroyed, 700 being killed or captured, mostly women and children. A larger number were saved by flying to the strong house of the Jesuits.

A terrible blow came the following spring. Unknown to the Hurons, about 1000 Iroquois had left home in the autumn of 1648, leisurely hunting through the winter as they approached the Huron towns. All the nations were represented in this army and most had firearms. The night before Mar. 16 they came quietly to the walls of Taenhatentaron, or St Ignace, where they found a strong stockade and a deep ditch. A careful reconnaissance showed one place weaker than the rest, and they broke through this so secretly and quickly that they were masters of

the town before the people awoke. There was some resistance, 10 of the Iroquois being slain, but out of 400 inhabitants only three escaped.

This was at daybreak. At sunrise the Iroquois attacked the mission of St Louis, a fortified town a league away. Most of the people had fled, but 80 warriors bravely defended the place, killing 30 of their foes. Axes were plied against the stockade, a breach was made, the Iroquois rushed in and the defenders were slain. Having burned the town, the Iroquois returned to St Ignace and refreshed themselves. Then they reconnoitered the fortified French mission house, intending an attack with 200 men, but were deterred by its strength. A party of 300 Hurons intercepted them on the morning of the 17th, but the vanguard quickly fled. The main body stood firm and captured 30 Iroquois, but were beaten in turn. The furious combat lasted into the night. On the 19th the enemy had disappeared, but terror and desolation remained.

Brébeuf and Gabriel Lalemant were taken in St Louis, stripped naked and carried to St Ignace, where they suffered terribly. Brébeuf had red hot axes hung about him, some telling him that they did this out of kindness, for the greater his sufferings here the greater would be his glory hereafter, and indeed his fortitude made a lasting impression on foes and friends. Hot water was poured on both in derision of baptism. This torture Brébeuf endured for three hours and Lalemant for double that time. Some Hurons were bound and burned in the houses, the whole town being destroyed.

Hope was lost and famine followed. The Hurons abandoned five strong towns. One town, that of Scanonaenrat, surrendered and removed to the Senecas, where it long had a separate existence. Many families went to the neighboring nations, as the Petuns, Neutrals and Eries, only to have the same experience again. Some sought the islands and woods, multitudes perishing in the wilderness. Part determined to take refuge with the French at Quebec. The missionaries burned their house, followed those who went to the islands and the Petuns, and the land

was abandoned. There the Iroquois had full and unresisted range, and the bravest were unnerved.

The Petun or Tobacco nation, otherwise known as Tionontaties or Mountaineers, was the next to suffer. In November 1649 the Petuns learned with joy that 300 Iroquois were in Canada, undecided what place to attack. Those of the town called St Jean by the French, Etharita by the Petuns, waited for them several days and then, fearing they might escape, sallied forth to find them, considering them already vanquished. This was Dec. 5. The enemy took another road, making some prisoners, from whom they learned that the town was destitute of men. They hastened their march and were before the place Dec. 7, at 3 p. m. It was an easy prey, but the Iroquois, fearing the return of the warriors, with great cruelties killed all who could not march quickly. Father Charles Garnier was alone in this mission and went at once to his chapel, where he was killed at his post, but without torture. The Iroquois had no time for that. Two days after the Petun warriors returned. Their homes were desolate, their people dead or in captivity. Their horror was too deep for cries or words. For half a day they sat silent on the ground, without raising their eyes, without moving and seeming hardly to breathe, like statues of stone.

The western war diminished but did not remove hostilities on the St Lawrence. The Mohawks attacked the French in 1650, near Three Rivers, fighting in the marsh and flying in their canoes. When their enemies were scattered, they turned against them. They were led by a half-breed, well known as the Dutch Bastard. In the Mohawk country a party of Hurons and Algonquins was betrayed to the Mohawks that year and was destroyed.

Still most of the Mohawks were aiding the upper Iroquois that year, having their promise to fight against the Andastes as soon as the western warfare was over. This had a new object for a while. In 1650 war began against the Neutrals, whose frontier towns were quickly taken, one in the autumn of 1650, the other the following spring. One was garrisoned by 1600 men. The carnage was fearful and the number of prisoners immense, the young

women being reserved to populate the Iroquois towns. The Neutral nation was ruined, terror was everywhere, even the distant towns were abandoned, and multitudes perished in the woods. In this terrible scene the Iroquois lost all fear, and were everywhere present to increase its horrors. Hurons, Neutrals and Tionontaties fell on every hand, the sight of one Iroquois putting a host to flight. The Montagnards and the Algonquins of the Ottawa river were swept away, and trade was ruined.

The names of some Neutral towns appear in earlier *Relations*. A note in Charlevoix's *New France* [1 : 271] says that in 1650 the Neutrals, under Tahontaenrat, routed 600 Iroquois, and killed 200. The *Relations* say nothing of this, and the name is that of a Huron tribe. The same note says that in 1651 the Iroquois attacked the Neutrals and took Te Otondiatin. Their success seems to have been uniform.

The only reverse the Iroquois had at this time in this western warfare was not in the open field but through Huron treachery. This was long remembered and fully punished. The Hurons had a fort on an island, and the Iroquois built one on the mainland opposite. By deceptive acts and false proposals of peace, 30 of the bravest Iroquois were decoyed into the Huron fort and slain. The survivors went away for aid and most of the Hurons fled, those who did not being soon destroyed. When one reads the history of those three years, one can appreciate the feelings of the missionaries when they said they would do all they could, "in spite of all the rage of hell, and the cruelties of the Iroquois, who are worse than the demons of hell."

Three powerful nations being now out of the way, the Iroquois soon came in contact with others north and west. Idle stories of earlier treaties with the Ottawas and Ojibwas scarcely deserve mention, though some have given credence to them. If they have any foundation, the date must be later than the Huron conquest, the immediate effects of which were great. Among others the Attikamegues, or White Fish nation of the northwest, was thrice invaded, and the women and children carried off "to the land of fires and flames."

Chapter 8

French and Boston people. Mohawk chief burned at Three Rivers. Poncet taken and released. Onondaga negotiations. Garakontie'. Le Moyne visits Onondaga and the salt springs. Iroquois slaves. Death of Annenraes and the Erie war. Le Moyne visits the Mohawks. Chaumonot and Dablon visit Onondaga and build chapel. Jealousy between Mohawks and Onondagas. Dablon returns. Journey of French colony. Fort built on Onondaga lake. Land grant. Site of the mission. Garreau killed. Missions in four Iroquois nations. Withdrawal of colony.

The Mohawks did not all go to the western wars. In 1650 they asked leave of the Dutch to cross their lands in going against the eastern Indians, feeling bound to do this by the treaty made five years before. This was not yet old enough for full confidence, and, when the Tappan Indians came to Fort Orange that year, saying that the Mohawks were about to attack the Dutch, some alarm was felt. Labatie, who commanded there, was asked to go to them with a new embassy but refused, yet deputies were sent and distributed presents to the amount of 600 guilders.

In 1651 the Council at Quebec proposed an offensive and defensive alliance against the Iroquois to the people of Boston, as they were troublesome to both. In their proposal the French said they were "barbarous Heathens, who have neither God, nor Faith, nor Justice in all their proceedings."

The Hurons, settled near Quebec, became presumptuous at this time and raised a war party against the Mohawks which they thought invincible. Some Algonquins and others joined them, but they were defeated with much loss. There are several baseless stories, ascribed to this period, of conflicts and treaties.

Father Jacques Buteux was killed by the Iroquois May 10, 1652, while on his way to the White Fish nation. War continued, generally with advantage to the Iroquois. When they defeated the Huron party mentioned, they took Toratati, the chief, and burned him alive. One doubtful act increased the enmity to the French. A hostile Mohawk party on the St Lawrence began to make proposals of peace. These were distrusted, and one of their canoes was seized, with three men. One was their leader, Aontarisati, a great favorite in his own land, and the Mohawks were much enraged when he was burned at Three Rivers after

being baptized. To avenge his death, a Mohawk party came near that place the following winter, but the French strengthened their works and doubled the guard. The enemy withdrew, but a small party returned in the spring, making ambushes and doing much damage. Father Poncet was taken prisoner Aug. 20, 1653, with another Frenchman who was burned. Poncet was soon released, because of new proposals for peace. While in the Mohawk country he was adopted by a widow, and said:

So soon as I entered her cabin she began to sing the song of the dead, in which she was joined by her two daughters. I was standing near the fire during these mournful dirges; they made me sit upon a sort of table slightly raised, and then I understood I was in the place of the dead, for whom these women renewed the last mourning, to bring the deceased to life again in my person, according to their custom.

Unexpected events had happened and his release came quickly. He said:

I was only a month in the land of the Iroquois. I came in the fourth of September; I went out the third of October. And in this brief time I had intercourse with the Hollanders; I had seen Fort Orange; I had passed three times through the four villages of the Iroquois Agniers; the remainder of the time of my captivity was occupied in my going and my return. I was taken by the River of the Iroquois and Lake Champlain, and consequently there were but two days of the journey by land. And I was brought back by another route, so that I have passed over the two routes which their armies and their warriors take when they come in search of us.

Montreal suffered much from the Iroquois, but Maison-neuve brought 100 settlers from France, and conditions improved. One event became historic, the beginning of a new era. In the midst of alarms, 60 Onondagas came to Montreal June 26, 1653, to propose peace, saying that the Cayugas and Oneidas favored their coming. They warned the French also that 600 Mohawks were in the field, intending to fall on Three Rivers. The Onondagas had a good reception, going also to Quebec, and sent a second deputation there in September.

One Mohawk party was defeated by the Hurons on the island of Montreal, the captain and four principal men being made pris-

oners, and there were other fierce encounters. The Mohawks at Three Rivers, finding unexpected resistance, sent in a white flag with proposals of peace, a favorite scheme. When told of Father Poncet's captivity, they at once sent orders for his release. Meantime, the Hurons and their prisoners fell into their hands, but were well treated, and all went on to Quebec, accompanied by the Onondaga deputies. Andioura, the Mohawk chief, was speaker at Quebec, showing the presents and asking that a French settlement should be made in the Iroquois country. The Iroquois went home to ratify the peace in their own land. All this was done in September, but the Onondagas promised to come again before spring.

The Mohawks desired by this treaty to secure the Hurons at Quebec for themselves and the Onondagas did the same. A council was held with the latter Feb. 5, 1654, affirming the peace, but the desire of both for the Hurons again clouded the prospect. The Hurons feared these nations most and their mutual jealousy. They thought the Onondagas had not forgotten the death of 34 men, treacherously killed in the island fort, and that the Mohawks hoped to avenge Aontarisati, whom they had burned. This business was deferred. While this was going on, the Oneidas seized a Frenchman and took him to their country, but he was soon released at Garakontie''s desire, who pledged his life for him. Some Tionontaties and Ottawas had taken 13 Senecas and others, while on their way to Montreal, but gave their captives into the hands of Sagochiendaguete', the principal man of the Onondagas. This was Garakontie', often called by the Onondaga council name in virtue of his office.

Father Simon Le Moyne went to Onondaga on this important business, leaving Montreal July 17, 1654, accompanied by a young Frenchman called Jean Baptiste. Soon after the Mohawks came down and objected to his mission, there being a strong jealousy between the two nations. The Mohawks said they were the eastern door and all outside business should be done through them. It was dangerous for the French to come through the central chimney, for they might fall into the great council fire.

On this they were promised a visit from Le Moyne if they could overtake him, but they failed in this.

The journal is of great interest, describing the upper St Lawrence for the first time. Like some later writers, he included the Thousand Islands in Lake Ontario. At the mouth of Salmon river he found a village of captive Hurons, among them many old friends. They belonged to the Onondagas. Thence he crossed the country to the foot of Oneida lake, where was an Onondaga fishing village. Small hamlets lay beyond. From the lake his course was due south to Onondaga, then a large town on Indian hill, 2 miles south of Manlius village. There he had a grand reception and was lodged in Garakontie"s house. He was used to Indian ways and was a general favorite. His knowledge of the Huron tongue was useful here, for it was much like the Mohawk. At first called Ouane by the Hurons, he had succeeded to Jogues's name of Ondessonk.

He reached Onondaga Aug. 5, entering the town singing the ambassador's song and receiving addresses of welcome. He was delighted to meet old Huron friends and, when the council met, Aug. 10, he presented his 19 belts, speaking for two hours in a chief's tone and manner. In his speech he bewailed the death of Annenraes, taken and killed by the Eries. This Onondaga chief was once a prisoner to the Hurons.

On the way and in the town Le Moyne had baptized several children. His first adult baptism there was of a captive Neutral girl. Colden said that the Iroquois had no slaves, but they are often mentioned in the *Relations* and their treatment described. They were absolutely at the will of their masters. Just before Le Moyne left he had a convert of importance, baptizing Ochionagueras by the name of Jean Baptiste. He was the leader of the army against the Eries and the first Onondaga adult baptized.

Le Moyne began his return Aug. 15, with the usual parting ceremonies. The village was nearly 15 miles from the salt springs, which were reached next day. At that time the Indians did not use salt and they thought the springs were inhabited by some demon. Le Moyne boiled the water and made salt, carry-

ing some to Quebec. Through an error in quotation a knowledge of this by the French has been placed 10 years earlier. The Kirkpatrick fountain, near the spot, will commemorate this event.

Le Moyne was now on new waters and his passage down the Oswego river the earliest recorded by a white man, Champlain not having reached that stream, and Le Moyne not having landed at Oswego, as many have supposed. Lake Ontario was now called the Lake of the Iroquois, and the missionary followed its shore to Salmon river, arriving there Aug. 23. He said: "We arrive at the place which they destine for our house, and a French settlement. There are charming prairies, good fishing, an access for all nations."

From his journal the rest of the way seems uneventful, but Charlevoix said he suppressed one important particular, lest it should lead to trouble. He said that Le Moyne had with him two Onondagas, some Hurons and Algonquins, who were surrounded by Mohawk canoes, when near Montreal, and fired on. The Hurons, Algonquins and one Onondaga, were killed and Le Moyne made a prisoner. The surviving Onondaga was told he might go home, but he refused to abandon his charge and threatened the Mohawks with the wrath of the upper Iroquois. They relented, and the Onondaga took Le Moyne to Montreal. Mother Mary of the Incarnation said the Mohawks threw the blame on the Dutch Bastard. The story is in every way improbable, the Onondagas would not have passed over such an affront lightly, nor would Le Moyne have visited the Mohawks the following year.

One interesting feature of this visit to Onondaga was the recovery of Brébeuf's New Testament and Garnier's book of devotions, showing that the Onondagas were active in the Huron tragedy. They also had Huron, Neutral and Petun captives.

The Erie war increased the demand for arms and ammunition; and, lest the Iroquois should get these of the English, the Dutch ordered Rutger Johnson to furnish them sparingly and secretly. The Eries were called Rique' by the Iroquois and Eriee' by the Hurons, not as pronounced by us. Their exact location is uncertain; but, as the Onondagas carried their canoes to their towns,

which were inland, they may have ascended Cattaraugus creek or gone to the head waters of the Alleghany, perhaps both. The story of the war and its causes is interesting. The Eries had sent 30 men to the Senecas to treat of peace, and, while they were there, a Seneca was elsewhere killed by an Erie. The Senecas fell on the ambassadors, of whom but five escaped. War ensuing, the Onondaga chief, Annenraes, was taken before he knew of the outbreak; but he proved as persuasive as of old and was given to the sister of one of the dead ambassadors, with the hope that he might preserve peace. She was not then at home, but they doubted not her acceptance, clothed him handsomely and feasted him well. When she returned, she refused all offers, though this might ruin her country. He must die, and they had to yield. They took him from the feast, stripped him of his robes and kindled the fire. "He cried out before dying that they were going to burn a nation in his person, and that they would cruelly avenge his death." An Iroquois army quickly took the field and made his words good.

There is a fanciful Seneca tradition of this war which has been credited by many, but which has no likeness to the contemporaneous account, and the latter has some difficulties. According to this the Eries abandoned most of their towns, but at last made a stand in a strong fort and were summoned to surrender. They refused, and a terrible assault began, which was long unsuccessful. The palisades were high and well defended. The Iroquois took their canoes and bore them before them, using them first as shields and then as ladders. The fort was carried with the loss of many of the assailants, but with terrible carnage to the inmates. After this, 300 rallied and planned a surprise, which was badly conducted. At the first Iroquois yell they lost heart and fled. The invaders suffered much, but except as captives the Eries appeared no more. One campaign destroyed them.

The Iroquois invaders are said to have been 1800 men, but it is safe to reduce this estimate, and, as the Eries fought bravely on the defensive in a strong fort, their numbers could hardly have been large, and archeologic evidence rather favors this. This

accords with the fact that before this they left the shore of Lake Erie to seek homes less exposed to their foes. On the other hand, their warlike character made them dreaded by the Iroquois, who were inclined to the French by this fear. Few or many, they were brave. As the birthplace of a captive to the Oneidas, the name of Gentaieton, the chief Erie town, alone has come down to us.

In 1655 Le Moyne went to the Mohawks and was well received. Both Seneca and Onondaga ambassadors were in Canada that year, which resulted in the journey of Fathers Joseph Chaumonot and Claude Dablon to Onondaga, where a firm alliance was made and a place selected for a colony, this being changed from Salmon river to Onondaga lake.

The two missionaries were received with the usual stately Iroquois ceremonies for ambassadors, and they have left graphic accounts of these. As in many other cases, Garakontie', the head chief and always their host, was called by the Onondaga council name. Nov. 7, 1655, "It was told the Father in this assembly, first that [S] Agochiendaguete', who is as the great king of all the country, and Onnontio were equally firm and constant in their decisions." The French superior of missions was called Achiendase' by the Iroquois, and all the missionaries had Indian names, which were given to others when they died. Curiously enough, Mr J. G. Shea thought Garakontie' was not a principal chief and that he was a nephew of Sagochiendaguete'. This came from a confusion of names.

Nov. 18 a chapel was built, of which Dablon said, "For marbles and precious stones we had but bark; but the way to heaven is as open through a roof of bark as through fretted ceilings of silver and gold." The mission was named St John Baptist.

The speeches and songs in the council at this time were fully recorded by Dablon, Garakontie' intoning most of the latter. It was a beautiful land which the French were to inhabit. The news of their coming was good and their speech heavenly. Very welcome were these brethren of the delightful voice. Farewell to war and all its horrors. Both parties had been mad, but were now brothers. The great peace was made, everything was beau-

tiful, and henceforth there would be mutual support. It was a time of rejoicing.

About this time the Dutch had Indian troubles, there being an outbreak near Manhattan, and in October the Dutch at Fort Orange thought it prudent to renew their Mohawk alliance. In November 100 Mohawks came there to say that they were about to attack the Hurons and asked the Dutch to be neutral.

The Mohawks and Onondagas were often in antagonism. In 1656 a Mohawk chief desired the French "to close the door of his houses and his forts to the Onnontagueronnon, who wishes to be my foe, and who broods over thoughts of war against me." A little earlier the Mohawks had killed a Seneca ambassador near Montreal, jealous of his mission to the French. This nearly caused a war between the two nations, going so far that the Mohawks unsuccessfully applied to the Dutch for mediation and aid. This matter was afterward settled at Onondaga, though the two nations "were at the point of entering into war." Their alliance was not old enough to make them thoroughly one. In 1653 an Onondaga chief had told the French "that it was very necessary to distinguish between nation and nation; that the Onnontaeronnons were not unfaithful like the Anniehronnon Iroquois," with like complimentary speeches.

Chaumonot and Dablon have left notes of their winter at Onondaga, but found the people impatient of French delays. For three years they had talked of founding a colony, but nothing had been done. If they did not act at once, the plan would be abandoned and war might follow. On this Dablon returned to Montreal early in March 1656, crossing Oneida lake on the ice and reaching Montreal after a fearful journey. The emergency was seen, his mission was successful, and the French colony left Quebec, May 17, 1756, escorted by some Onondagas, Senecas and Hurons. There were four Jesuit fathers and two brothers in the party, and between 50 and 60 colonists and soldiers. Soon after starting, they were assailed by a party of Mohawks, who maltreated some of the Onondagas, but made excuses, fearing war with that people.

At Montreal they embarked in 20 canoes, leaving there June 8. A large flag of white taffeta, with the name of Jesus, floated over one of these. Some Mohawks were encountered, whom the Onondagas, their kindred, reviled and plundered. Hunger pressed the party sorely, July 3, but they hoped for relief at Otiatonnehengue', the fishing village at the mouth of Salmon river. No one was there, the fishing season being over, and from their distress the place was long known as La Famine. Charlevoix connected this name with De la Barre's camp there, but it appeared before that time.

Out of 14 Indians but five remained with them, and the party struggled on, contending with the waves of the lake and the rapids of Oswego river, hungry and faint all the way. At Oswego Falls there came welcome relief. Salmon filled the river and the Onondagas sent them food. Brimming kettles were set over the fires. They reveled in their abundant supplies and rejoiced, for "one fair day effaces the memory of ten which are bad." Pleasantly they ascended the broad and beautiful stream, entering Onondaga lake, July 11, firing their five small cannon and advancing in ranks of four canoes. They were joyfully received by the assembled multitudes, and the fortified mission of St Mary of Gannentaa was soon built on the eastern shore of the lake.

The colonists of New York and Canada differed in the appropriation of land. The former purchased land at a nominal price, the latter took what they wanted. In the allied documents of Burrows's edition of the Jesuit *Relations* is a translation of a deed given by Governor Lauson to the Jesuits at this time. There was granted and given to them:

> Ten leagues of space in every direction—that is to say, ten leagues front and ten leagues depth,—and where they shall choose to establish themselves in the country of the Upper Irocois called Onondageoronons, be it in or near the village of Onnondagé, or at Gannentaé, or as is said, in that place where they shall judge most convenient to them, the said space and extent of ten leagues square is to be possessed by the said reverend Jesuit fathers, their successors and assigns, in freehold forever.

The Onondaga town lay within this space, and its people

probably never knew of the existence of a grant so absolute, and to which their consent had never been asked. The grand seneschal of New France was enjoined to put the Jesuits in possession. The governor had also "caused a fort to be erected on Lake Gonontaa, and granted to sundry private persons some Iroquois lands, for which deeds have been executed." This was dated at Quebec, Ap. 12, 1756, five weeks before the colony left. The French ideas were much like those of Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts: "If we leave them sufficient for their use, we may lawfully take the rest, there being more than enough for them and us."

The mission buildings were erected on the east shore of Onondaga lake, south of the present village of Liverpool, the site being described as at a distance from any salt springs. A work supposed to mark the spot was probably that made by Frontenac 40 years later, and does not agree in outline with what we know of the mission which probably stood there. Regarding that, too, the *Relations* definitely speak of but one house, possibly a term for the whole stockade, including several houses, the circumstances seeming to require this in order to build and remove several large boats unseen, with their lading. On the other hand, Charlevoix distinctly speaks of the Jesuits' own house as the largest of all. In De Nonville's memoir of 1688 it is also said that the colonists cleared and planted fields, and also "built many large houses." For lodging over 60 men it could hardly have been otherwise.

More specifically, the mission seems to have been on lot 106, Salina, near the large spring where Frontenac's fort was in 1696 and which he left to camp for a night at the salt springs, all the early ones known being south of the marsh. A passage in the *Relation* of 1656 has been misapplied. In this we are told: "The fountain of which one makes very good salt, intersects a beautiful prairie, surrounded by a grove of high forest trees. At 80 or 100 paces from this salt spring is seen another of fresh water, and these two opposites take birth from the bosom of the same hill."

The last was not the so called Jesuit spring, but one formerly in the first ward of Syracuse. The *Relation* says there was no salt spring near the mission. When rattlesnakes were described, the writer said: "I know not if the serpents are attracted by the salt; but I well know that the place where we have set up our dwelling, surrounded by beautiful springs of fresh water, is not infested by them, though it is on the shores of the same lake."

A redoubt was soon made for the soldiers, and around it "the fountains of fresh water were in abundance." De Nonville said that the 60 French included 12 soldiers under Dupuis, and that they left four bronze cannon. There were more of both.

The trouble between the Mohawks and Senecas was settled by arbitration at Onondaga in 1656, this being an early Iroquois principle. "This grand council was held on the 24th of July, when all the nations referred to Achiendase' (who was our father superior) the cause of the Mohawks and Senecas, which was very soon ended." The former did not even then feel quite safe from their allies, for next year they asked the Dutch for a refuge for their families if attacked by the Senecas, and horses to draw palisades to repair their forts.

Father Garreau was killed by the Mohawks in Canada in 1656 and in that year they paraded before Quebec, making some Canadian Indian prisoners dance. Meanwhile, the strife for the Hurons went on. The Mohawks carried off some near Quebec, killing many but granting peace to the rest on condition that they would soon go to the Mohawk country. When they came for them, the Hurons still hesitated. The nation of the Cord refused to go, but the Bears went. Those of the Rock would go to Onondaga, but some were massacred on the road.

Meanwhile, Chaumonot had visited the Senecas and Oneidas, and missions were established among all the nations except the Mohawks. Father Menard had a mission among the Cayugas, and on the shore of their lake David Le Moine died. He was a *donné*, or one specially devoted to religious work. At Onondaga lake there was much sickness and two deaths occurred. The Onondagas came to comfort the French, relieving the sick and covering the graves of the dead with speeches and presents.

The Mohawks now plotted their ruin. The Onondagas, at first enthusiastic over their new friends, became lukewarm and then secretly hostile, though the French afterward had no doubt of their sincerity at first. The destruction of the colony was determined, but was delayed by two causes. Garakontie' favored the French and postponed their surprise under various pretexts, probably even giving them warning. Besides this, a large number of Iroquois were under restraint at Montreal, and the blow could not be struck till these were safe. With hints of the plot, the French made shrewd preparations. It was winter, and all the missionaries were called in. Some colonists and soldiers had returned to Canada. The rest were employed in making boats in the garret of a large house. Charlevoix varies much from the *Relation* in minor details. The colony had four Algonquin and four Iroquois canoes and built two bateaux, each large enough for 15 men. In this little fleet 53 persons were to embark.

In due time a feast was proclaimed, which may have been held outside of the mission, in the cabins east of the house, where some had been made, the town being nearly 15 miles away. If held within, great precautions must have been taken. During the noise of the feast, the boats were carried out of the back door of the stockade, launched and loaded. The guests were dismissed, and, when all were asleep, the fort was evacuated, on the night of Mar. 20, 1658. A fearful journey it was through the freezing lake, down the river, over the portage at the falls and through Lake Ontario. At its foot they cut their way through the ice. In running the rapids three men were drowned, but the rest reached Montreal, Ap. 3, where the ice had just gone out. All through it was a marvelous deliverance, and their disappearance greatly astonished the Onondagas, who waited till the next night for them to come forth, wondering at their long silence. At Montreal they were hailed as men from the dead.

In that year the Mohawks sent a large party to join the upper Iroquois against the Ottawas, who had killed 30 of their men the year before. Their leader was Tecarihoguen, head chief of the Mohawks. At this time the upper lakes were lined with Algon-

quins and other refugees from the Iroquois, some Hurons having retired beyond Lake Superior.

Chapter 9

Iroquois war renewed, and their strength. Huron and French defeat on Ottawa river. Sad condition of Canada. Proposals of peace. Le Moyne goes to Onondaga. His reception. Rank of Garakontie'. Hotreouate'. War with Minquas or Andastes. Iroquois and eastern Indians. New Esopus war. Onondaga embassy to Canada attacked, with consequent war. First treaty between Five Nations and English. De Tracy builds forts and invades Mohawks twice.

War now raged everywhere, with varying fortunes, but with much distress to the French, many of whom were made prisoners, but were often well cared for by Garakontie'. Governor d'Argenson landed at Quebec July 11, 1658, and the next day there was a massacre of Algonquins close to that place. The Iroquois were quickly pursued, but escaped. Some Mohawks tried to surprise Three Rivers, and afterward 10 of them entered the town for a peace talk and were seized. Their leader was Atogoüaekoüan, or the Great Spoon, who came to Quebec to treat of peace in 1645. They were released after scaring them. The Iroquois now carried their arms far and wide and in 1659 began to approach Hudson bay.

That year the Mohawks put the Esopus people on their guard and were successful in arranging a truce between the Indians and the Dutch. They again wanted help in repairing their castles and held a council with the Dutch, in which reference was made to the first treaty between them 16 years before, probably meaning that of 1645. Aid was supplied.

Of the many small encounters in the Canadian war little need be said, but there is a curious estimate of Iroquois strength in the *Relation* of 1660, which is worthy of note as a contrast to the numbers constantly reported in the field. Of the Mohawks there were not more than 500 warriors, of Oneidas less than 100, of Onondagas and Cayugas about 300 each, and of Senecas not more than 1000. Of these the conquered Hurons, Tionontaties, Neutrals, Eries, Fire Nation and others made the largest and best part. Yet they were a terrible scourge to Canada.

Late in the winter of 1660 a band of 40 chosen Hurons left Quebec on a war party with 18 Frenchmen. Some Algonquins joined them at Three Rivers and they took post below the Sault de Chaudière on the Ottawa, to wait for Iroquois hunters, who usually passed there in single file. Some of these saw them and gathered the rest, who were soon arrayed as warriors. Solemnly and openly 200 Onondagas came down the sault in their canoes, ready for the fight. Their astonished foes took refuge in an old fort, making a vigorous defense. Then the Mohawks came and aided in the siege, which lasted for 10 days. Water could be had only at the peril of life, and part of the Indians deserted to their foes. The French fired on a flag of truce, and the Iroquois were infuriated. Guarded by wooden shields, they rushed at the palisades to cut them down. The French grenades were exhausted, and they used disabled gun barrels. At last they tried to throw a barrel of powder over the wall, hoping it might explode in the midst of their foes. Unfortunately it caught in a bough, fell back, exploded within, and the fight was soon over. Not so the cruelties of the conquerors. This disaster was deeply felt by both Hurons and French, who also heard that all the Iroquois would make war on them the coming year. Quebec was blockaded by 700 Iroquois, victors in this fight. In this gloom the only ray of light was that a Cayuga party came to Montreal and said they wished to be neutral.

In 1660 the Mohawks invited the Indians living near New Amsterdam to live with them and made a southern journey to reconcile the Minquas and Senecas. They were present at the treaty with the Esopus Indians and gave bail for their good behavior. The Senecas also came to Fort Orange, and the Dutch hoped they would be at peace with the Minquas, here called Maquas by clerical error. It was at the conference at Esopus that a Minqua chief sharply reproved the Indians there: "Ye cause us and the Mohawks great losses. This is not your land. It is our land. Therefore repeat not this but throw down the hatchet."

The next year the Iroquois waged a worse war in Canada,

extending all the way from Tadoussac to Montreal. At the latter place 160 Iroquois appeared at the end of winter and continued their attacks all through the summer of 1661. To the French at Three Rivers "it was evil upon evil, and sorrow upon sorrow." To this were added the terrors of the comet and earthquake. On the Ottawa river and Lake Huron not an Indian could be found, so great was the fear of the Iroquois. At Quebec the brave M. de Lauson was killed, and in words of that date, "the Iroquois burned, killed and carried off with impunity."

It was a gloomy time; but, in the midst of these trials, two Iroquois canoes came to Montreal in July 1661, bearing a white flag and peace proposals from the Onondagas and Cayugas. Saonchiogwa, a Cayuga chief and friend of the French, was the speaker. He brought back four prisoners from Onondaga, as pledges of their sincerity and would restore others. The release of eight Cayugas was desired. The mission house yet stood at Lake Gannentaa, the fields there were cultivated and ready for the return of the French. Garakontie' had cared for the prisoners. Then he spoke very gravely.

It is necessary, said he, that a Black Robe should come with me; without this there is no peace, and the lives of twenty French captives at Onondaga are attached to this voyage. While saying this he produced the leaf of I know not what Book, on the margin of which the twenty Frenchmen had written their names.

As a result, Father Le Moyne went on a peace embassy to the Iroquois for the fifth time, regarding "the day of his departure as one of the happiest days of his life." A glorious mission indeed; for peace and deliverance were to be the results. He wrote from the chapel at Onondaga, Aug. 25, 1661, rejoicing that his confidence had not been misplaced. Garakontie' had met him two leagues from the town, an unusual honor, and his reception was like a triumph, the grandest that Iroquois etiquette could devise. Personally popular with all, he entered fully into the spirit of the occasion, sustaining his part with great applause. The enthusiastic Onondagas lined his path for two leagues, running on and taking new stations when he had passed, that they might see and greet him again. He said:

I walked gravely between two rows of people, who give me a thousand benedictions, and who load me with all kinds of fruits, with pumpkins, with mulberries, with breads, with strawberries and others. I kept making my cry of Ambassador while walking, and seeing myself near the town, which was scarcely visible to me, the stakes, the cabins and the trees were so covered with people. I stopped before taking the first step in entering the town.

He found that the captives had been treated with much kindness, and that Garakontie' had secured them every religious privilege possible. A bell called them to public worship, which was led by one of their best men. Lay baptism was practised and much religious instruction given. Le Moyne spent nearly a year there and elsewhere, returning Aug. 31, 1662, with the remaining captives, and there was great joy in Montreal.

Mr Shea said that Garakontie', Sun that Advances, "was apparently an orator, not a sachem, and not a war chief. He is not mentioned in connection with the settlement of St Mary of Ganentaha by any of the writers of that time, and it is absolutely contrary to all authority to make him the projector of that movement." One little circumstance should have shown this eminent writer the error into which he was led by the use of Garakontie"s official title for his personal name. When Le Moyne drew near Onondaga in 1654, he said he dined with "the nephew of the first captain of the country, who is to lodge me in his cabin." In 1661 he said, "We met a captain named Garacontie', who is the one with whom our fathers and I have taken lodging every time we have come into this country." In 1670 he was distinctly called Sagochiendagete', and in 1654 it was Sagochiendagehte', an Onondaga chief, who remained as a hostage at Montreal. In 1657 it was "Sagochiendagesite' who has the power and royal authority over all the nation of Onontaghe, though he has not the name of it." In an address toward the close of his life, the chief spoke of his authority, and of the use he had always made of it for the public good. A letter from Onondaga in 1671 speaks of him as "the most considerable, and the chief of all the Iroquois nations."

Another possible error of Mr Shea's may be noted here, as it

is connected with this time. On his way to Onondaga Father Le Moyne met a war party going against the French, led by Hotreouate', better known as Garangula to the readers of Colden. He desired revenge for his imprisonment at Montreal. Soon after a deputation of Onondagas and Senecas, going to Montreal, met this party returning with scalps. They had killed an ecclesiastic, named M. le Maitre, and the leader wore his black robe. The deputies hesitated about proceeding after this act, but Garakontie' went on and was well received. The *Relation* of 1661 distinctly says that the priest was killed by this Onondaga chief. Mr Shea said, giving no reason, "The actual murderer of Le Maitre, Hoandoran, became a Christian, and died at the Sulpitian mission at Montreal."

The ambassadors turned back an Oneida war party, and for a time the Iroquois turned their arms against the northern, southern and western nations. In this year Schenectady was bought from the Mohawks.

The English now aided the Minquas, according to report placing 50 men in their fort, but the Senecas killed many. In the northwest 80 Iroquois attacked 30 Attikamegues and some French, all of whom died fighting. In 1662 the Mohawks and Oneidas sent a party against the Ottawas, which was defeated by the Sauteurs, being surprised in the midst of a revel, and this was long remembered, traditionally giving name to Point Iroquois near Sault Ste Marie. On the island of Montreal some Iroquois killed two prominent men. A party which went against the Andastes or Minquas met with disaster, the Black Minquas having come to aid their friends. They were so named from their black badges.

The English now complained that the Mohawks attacked the Penobscot Indians and that 260 had built a strong fort there, where they stayed for two weeks. Some English cattle were killed, and the English came to Fort Orange about this. The Mohawks were willing to give a wampum atonement, but would not give up their captives and threatened to ravage Connecticut if the English were not satisfied. Governor Stuyvesant, whom

they called Wooden Leg, went to Fort Orange about this, procured an accommodation and ransomed some captives. They were Kennebecs.

Governor d'Avaugour had come to Canada in 1661, and in 1662 he said "it was politic to exaggerate more than ever the cruelties of the Iroquois, in order the better to conceal the designs that might be adopted in this country; fearing lest English ignorance and Dutch weakness might be alarmed, and have their jealousy excited."

The governor of French Acadia desired a permanent peace between the Mohawks and northern Indians. The Mohawks replied that they had best be left alone. The Mahicans had fled from Albany and elsewhere, and left their corn lands. As the Dutch did not like them to pass Fort Orange, the Mohawks now went to the eastern wars by way of Cohoes as a rule, but a party of Mohawks, Onondagas and Senecas passed through the Dutch town in December against the eastern Indians, by whom they were defeated.

In 1663 the Algonquins killed Garistarsia and 10 of his men. There was a desperate struggle between Garistarsia, or the Sword, and Gahronho, a stalwart Algonquin chief. They grappled, and, just as the Mohawk was about dealing a death blow, a lucky chance changed the result for the Algonquin, and the Mohawk was slain.

That year there were new hostilities at Esopus, and the aid of the Mohawks was sought in recovering prisoners. The Iroquois sent a large force against the Minquas, which had poor success. According to one account the army descended a great river and thought they would find the foe an easy prey; but the fort was defended on one side by the river and on the others by strong palisades, with bastions and cannon. The Iroquois then proposed sending 25 men into the fort to treat for peace and buy provisions for their return. They were admitted, seized and burned alive on scaffolds in the sight of their helpless friends. The Andastes told the Iroquois this was but a prelude to what they would do when they invaded their country. The Iroquois

desired vengeance, but the smallpox had weakened their towns and for a while they could do nothing. This is the French story. Those near by made light of the affair. About this time there were prospects of peace between the French and Iroquois, but the Hurons reported French preparations to destroy them, and this broke off negotiations.

In the spring of 1664 Garakontie' prepared another peace embassy. Even the Mohawks wished peace, having on hand a Mahican war; while the Andastes kept the upper Iroquois busy. Among the Onondagas Garakontie' was the prime mover, but the Oneidas took no action at all. The chief set out with 30 ambassadors and 100 great belts. These fell into an Algonquin ambuscade, and all hopes of peace were destroyed, the Iroquois resolving on vengeance. Yet a Cayuga embassy came to Quebec Sep. 18, speaking for all but the Oneidas. War continued.

That year Mohawk ambassadors were killed by the Abenaquiois, or Kennebecs, and the Mahicans attacked the Mohawks, killing Dutch cattle at Greenbush and ravaging the east side of Hudson river. The Senecas threatened to attack the Minisinks, whom the Minquas would defend.

The first treaty between the Iroquois and English in New York was made at Albany, Sep. 24, 1664, and was signed by four Mohawk chiefs and four nominal Senecas, two of whom were Onondagas and Cayugas. The English were not to aid the New England Indians, who had murdered a Mohawk chief, but peace was to be made with the River Indians. Colden said:

> In 1664, New York being taken by the English, they immediately entered into a Friendship with the Five Nations which has continued without the least Breach to this Day; and History, I believe, can not give an Instance of the most Christian and most Catholick Kings observing a Treaty so strictly, and for so long a Time as these Barbarians, as they are called, have done.

M. de Tracy came to Canada in 1665, and at once built three forts on the River of the Iroquois. The king of France resolved "to carry war even to their firesides, in order totally to exterminate them," if they did not submit, though the English occupation of New York had changed the situation. The regiment

of Carignan-Salières came from Hungary, with laurels won from the Turks, and was now to oppose the Iroquois. Part was to protect the harvesters and the rest built the forts. The Iroquois were at first alarmed, but soon recovered and used other roads. An embassy led by Garakontie' came to Canada in October and another in December. At the latter all but the Mohawks made a treaty of peace, signed by the Bear, Wolf and Turtle clans. They desired priests and settlers, and mourned Father Le Moyne, who died Nov. 24.

Governor de Courcelle went against the Mohawks Jan. 9, 1666, with 500 men, arriving in their country, Feb. 9, much exhausted. He learned that most of the Mohawks and Oneidas had gone to war with the Wampum-makers, leaving only old people and children at home, and even these he was in no condition to attack, but lost some men in a Mohawk ambuscade. He got provisions of the Dutch and at once returned, losing more men on the way. The Iroquois were alarmed, not having thought invasion possible, and in May the Senecas came and made peace, being soon followed by the rest. There were hostilities after this, and Captain de Sorel went with 300 men against the Mohawks, but met their ambassadors coming to make amends. The trouble was this. Some Oneida deputies went to Canada in June 1666, returning with Father Beschefer and two Frenchmen, to induce the Mohawks and Oneidas to send deputies to a general council. Hardly had they gone before news came that the Mohawks had killed some French hunters and made others prisoners, Captain de Traversy and Sieur de Chasy being killed. The French were at once recalled and the Oneidas seized.

Charlevoix adds that De Sorel, on his way to the Mohawk towns, met a party led by the Dutch Bastard, but of inferior force. The latter pretended he was on a peace embassy and was taken to De Tracy and well received. Agariata, another Mohawk chief, came afterward and said he was a deputy. At De Tracy's table

The conversation turning on the death of M. de Chasy, the Mohawk chief, raising his arm, exclaimed: "This is the arm that tomahawked that young officer." The indignation of all present

may be imagined. The Viceroy told the insolent savage that he would never kill another, and had him strangled on the spot by the executioner, in the presence of the Flemish Bastard, whom he retained as a prisoner.

Colden related this differently, saying that, after peace was made, some Mohawks killed these Frenchmen; and

The Five Nations, to shew their publick Displeasure at this Breach of Peace, sent Agariata, the Captain of the Company that did the Mischief, with forty others, to beg Pardon; but Monsieur Coursel was resolved to make an example of Agariata, and ordered him to be hanged in sight of his Company; and the French think that this Severity was a great Means of preserving the Peace till the Year 1683.

Most of the others were sent home. De Tracy made another expedition that year, with 1300 men, rendezvousing at Fort St Anne in Lake Champlain, where De Courcelle preceded him with 400 men. They carried two cannon. Mohawk scouts gave the alarm and every town was abandoned. The last town was well provisioned and strong enough for defense. This fort was "a triple palisade, surrounding their stronghold, twenty feet in height and flanked by four bastions." Besides food, it had "abundant supplies of water in bark tanks." Oct. 17, 1666, the troops "being drawn up in battle array before the Fort of Andaraque," their commander "took possession of said Fort and of all the lands in the neighborhood as far and in as great a quantity as they may extend, and of the other four forts which have been conquered from the Iroquois." On this act was based part of the French claims to land in New York.

Chapter 10

Peace made and missions resumed. Van Curler drowned. Mahicans attack Gandaouagué. Battle at Kinquarioones. Agreskoué renounced. Iroquois mission towns in Canada. Senecas and Ottawas at war. Baptism of Iroquois chiefs. Courcelle visits Lake Ontario. Peace between Mohawks and Mahicans. Count Frontenac visits Lake Ontario and builds Fort Frontenac. La Salle. King Philip's war. Death of Garakontie'. Hennepin among the Iroquois. Governor Andros visits the Mohawks. Kryn removes to Canada. Greenhalgh's journey. Cayuga villages in Canada. Dekanissora. War with Illinois. Onondagas remove town. Iroquois adopt captives. Peace between Five Nations and Maryland.

These harsh measures produced a general peace, and the French missions were resumed in 1667. Fathers Jacques Fremin

and Jean Pierron went to the Mohawks that year; Father Jacques Bruyas accompanied them and proceeded to Oneida. Father Julien Garnier soon joined him, but went on to Onondaga, where Father Pierre Milet came to him the next year. At the same time Father Etienne Carheil resumed the work among the Cayugas on Cayuga lake. These had now some villages north of Lake Ontario, which were safe from the Andastes. The enmity between them and that people was great, and that year four Andastes women were burned at Oneida alone.

Arent Van Curler (Corlaer) was drowned in 1667, while on his way to Canada. This occurred in Corlaer's bay, Lake Champlain, now called the Bay of Perou. There was a great rock there, beneath which the Indians thought one of their divinities dwelt, and they made offerings in passing. He ridiculed this, and the Indians thought his death a retribution for his sarcasm. He was a great favorite with the Mohawks, and they called the governors of New York after him.

In 1668 the Wappingers joined the Mohawks against the Mahicans, 300 of whom attacked the Mohawk town of Gandaouague' Aug. 18, 1669, but were repulsed with loss. This was the eastern castle, on the north side of the river. The invaders were led by Chickataubutt, who was killed in the attack. They were pursued and another battle took place next day, at a place mentioned in a grant of July 3, 1672, as "KINAQUARIONES, *Where the Last Battel was between the Mohoakx and the North* [*river*] *Indians.*" Of this Gen. J. S. Clark said:

Kinaquariones is the steep rocky hill on the north side of the Mohawk river just above Hoffman's Ferry, nine English (equal to three Dutch) miles west of Schenectady. It was the western bounds of the original Schenectady patent, and now forms the southeast corner of the county of Montgomery. The ancient aboriginal name is still preserved in the contracted form of Towereoune. The palisaded castle Gandaouague', at the date of this assault, was on the north side of the Mohawk, on the west bank of Cayadutta creek, on a high plateau known locally as the Sand Flats. . . This village was for a time the residence of Tegakwita, the Iroquois saint, and of the great Kryn, one of the most valiant among the many famous Mohawk warriors.

In their turn the Mohawks became the invaders, but were unsuccessful, though aided by other Iroquois. On account of their present loss, a condolence was held with them, which has been confused with the Dead Feast of the Hurons, to which it bore no likeness. Father Pierron was present and interrupted the ceremony, which he did not understand. The result was that he induced the Mohawks to renounce the worship of Agreskoue'. A similar renunciation of the old worship was soon made at Onondaga, but was never very thorough. From that time till the preaching of the new religion about 1800, the religious belief of the Iroquois was of a very hazy kind. Through all their earlier history their faith in dreams was unlimited.

The mission of St Francis Xavier à la Prairie de la Magdeliene was founded near Montreal in 1669, as a refuge for the Christian Iroquois desirous of escaping the temptations of their old homes. This was done by Catharine Gandiaktena, born in the Erie town of Gentaieton, but carried to Oneida and married there. She went to La Prairie with 12 others, and this led to the removal of many Christian Iroquois to Canada. Other Canadian mission towns followed, attracting people from their old homes and seriously diminishing their strength. The chiefs were alarmed and indignant. The Jesuits boasted that they had thus secured 200 brave Iroquois soldiers for the French, and still had eight chapels in New York in 1674. To conduct these properly, they arranged a uniform scheme of missions in 1669.

Fremin and Garnier went to Onondaga Aug. 26, 1669, and that day La Salle landed at Irondequoit bay, led there by Seneca reports of a great river flowing southward from them. Dollier and Gallinée went to the mission with him, remaining quite a time, and visited and described the burning spring as well as the town. In September they stopped a while at the Iroquois village of Tinawatawa, near the extreme western end of Lake Ontario. That year Indian murders led to a close union between all the River Indians and the Iroquois.

In 1670 the Senecas captured 100 women and children near the Ottawas, and exposed Iroquois cabins were attacked in turn.

This roused the Senecas, who resented a proposed French arbitration; but Garakontie' prevailed and peace was restored. That eminent chief was baptized and confirmed by Bishop de Petrée in the cathedral at Quebec that year. Governor de Courcelle was his godfather, and Mlle Boutroüee, daughter of the intendant, his godmother. After being conducted to the chateau, "at his first entrance he saw himself saluted by a discharge of all the cannon of the fort, and of all the musketry of the soldiers who were ranged to receive him." A banquet and speeches followed.

Saonchiogwa was baptized soon after, being a Cayuga chief, friendly to the French from the first. He restored some of the Ottawa prisoners. Father Carheil was now in charge of the Cayuga mission and composed hymns and devotions in that language. When the town was in danger of assault by the Andastes, he won the hearts of all by taking his turn as sentinel. At this time there were Huron catechists among the Senecas, and a Seneca dictionary was in progress.

Governor de Courcelle took prompt action on the murder of Indians in 1670, calling a council at Montreal and punishing the offenders before the Indians. This prevented trouble. He forbade war between the Ottawas and Iroquois, which the Senecas resented. That year he ascended the river to Lake Ontario, alarming the Iroquois much by this simple act. At that time the Iroquois had to go north of that lake for beaver and carried it all to the Dutch.

In 1672 peace was formally made at Albany between the Mohawks and Mahicans. The Onondagas had been quite successful against the Andastes; but this year some young warriors of that nation totally defeated Seneca and Cayuga parties on Cayuga lake. In spite of their bravery, the great contest was now unequal and the downfall of the Andastes soon followed.

Count Frontenac went up the St Lawrence to Lake Ontario in July 1673, holding a council with the Iroquois near the site of Kingston July 13, and founding Fort Frontenac, called Cadaraqui by the Onondagas and English. Garakontie' spoke, being classed among the 60 influential sachems present. The next

year Frontenac informed Colbert "that, if the principal chiefs had not been gained by his flatteries and presents, not a single Frenchman would have been left in Canada." He certainly did everything possible on this occasion, paying special attention to the women and children.

In connection with this trip La Salle was several times at Onondaga that year, and Father Lamberville wrote of meeting him at the foot of Oneida lake Sep. 9, 1673. He there heard that the Dutch again held New York. Some Mohawk chiefs visited Governor Colve at Fort Wilhelm Hendrick May 19, 1674, who were from Kaghenewage' and Kanagaro. They had made a new treaty with the Dutch the year before.

King Philip's war was now raging; and he is doubtfully said to have visited the Mohawks in 1675, but without securing their aid. He is also said to have murdered some of their stragglers, hoping it would be laid to the English; but the trick was discovered, and the Mohawks became his worst foes. It is only certain that in February 1676, a party of 300 Mohawks did go from Albany and defeated Philip not far away. When attacked by the English near Deerfield Mass., his followers fled, crying, "Mohawks! Mohawks!" so great was their fear of them.

Garakontie' died at Onondaga soon after Christmas 1675, having been head chief of the Onondagas and Iroquois for many years. He left this message: "Write to the Governor that he loses the best servant he has in the cantons of the Iroquois." Father Lamberville wrote a pathetic account of his death and burial, making his coffin and performing the funeral rites himself. A large cross marked his grave in the present town of Pompey. For more than a score of years he had been known as the friend and father of the French, both in peace and war. His brother took his name but not his office, serving the French in a quieter way and dying in 1702. The two have been confused.

Father Hennepin came to Canada in 1675 and at once took up mission work, being part of the time at the Cayuga villages north of Lake Ontario. Fond of adventure, after a while he wanted to know more of the Iroquois, and said:

I accordingly went among them with one of our soldiers from said fort, [Frontenac] making a journey of about seventy leagues, and both having large snowshoes on our feet, on account of the snow, which is abundant in that country during winter. I had some little knowledge of the Iroquois language. We then passed on to the Honnchiouts Iroquois, and the Honnontagez, who received us very well. This nation is the most warlike of all the Iroquois. At last we arrived at the Gannickez Agniez. This is one of Five Iroquois Nations, situated a good day's journey from the neighborhood of New Netherland. We remained some time among this last named nation, and were lodged with a Jesuit Father, born in Lyons, in order to transcribe a little Iroquois dictionary.

In August 1675, Gov. Edmund Andros went to the warlike Indians nearly 100 miles beyond Albany and allies of the English. This trip was really to the farthest Mohawk town. The next year Andros said that King Philip's war might have been prevented had not the Boston people scorned his advice. He would have engaged the Mohawks and others to fall on Philip. As it was, he kept them from helping him.

In 1675, also, the Senecas wished to exterminate the Susquehannas, or Andastes, but the Mohawks said they were their brothers and children and might live with them. At this time powder and lead were sold only to the Iroquois. There was a story that they killed Canonicus, the Narragansett chief.

There came a difficulty between the Iroquois and Maryland, which Andros aided in settling. That province complained of Seneca depredations; but Andros thought both Mohawks and Senecas were good friends of the English. At the time the treaty of 1677 was made, some Oneidas, Onondagas and Senecas had gone south and killed some Susquehannas, taking prisoners, not knowing of the peace. Part of these were restored, but there were many such troubles from time to time. Two commissioners were sent to Albany about this and reproved the Onondagas and Oneidas, but thought two nations not to blame. The Cayugas made trouble, and Colden thought the French priests the cause.

The Mohawks met with a serious loss in the spring of 1676.

The wife of Kryn, often called the Great Mohawk, became a Christian, and he was indignant. While hunting, he came to La Prairie, and its peace and order impressed him much. He became an inquirer and convert, and at last brought a band of his people there in 1674; reaching there with another party on Easter Sunday 1676. The next year he was followed by Catharine Tegahkwita, the Iroquois saint, who died there in 1680, and who is still in high repute for her virtues and austerity of life.

In reporting his action on the treaty of 1677, Andros wrote:

The latter end of August the Governor having sent two Christians to the farthest nations of Indyans, and Orders to meett Coll. Coursey, sent as Embassadour from Maryland to treat with said Indyans; the Governor went also to Albany to receive any addresses, or whatt they might have to say to him. Coll. Coursey hadd answers to his satisfaction.

This was the famous journey of Wentworth Greenhalgh "from Albany to ye Indians, westward; begun May 20th, 1677, and ended July ye 14 following." Its object does not appear in the journal, nor is the name of his companion mentioned. They went on horseback. The Mohawks then had four fortified towns and one small village. The towns were Cahaniaga, Canagora, Canajorha and Tionondague. In these were about 300 warriors, occupying 100 houses.

The Oneidas had a town 20 (2 ?) miles from Oneida creek. In this fort were 100 houses and 200 warriors. The Onondagas had one large unwalled town of 140 houses and a village of 24 cabins 2 miles away. The warriors numbered 350. Three unwalled Cayuga towns had 100 houses and 300 warriors. The Senecas had four unwalled towns, with 324 houses and 1000 warriors. The towns were Canagora, Tiotohatton, Canoenada and Keinthe; but other writers give different names.

About this time came changes in the Iroquois missions in Canada. The Cayuga villages near the Bay of Quinté had most of their mission work transferred to the island of Montreal in 1676. Some Iroquois came from New York and some from Caughnawaga, forming the Mission of the Mountain the same year, and some Senecas arrived later. That year La Prairie

was abandoned, and a new village grew up, ever since called Caughnawaga by the Indians and English. The French knew it as St François Xavier du Sault. One of the converts at La Prairie was an Oneida chief, called Ogeratarihen or Garonhiague', who had witnessed Brébeuf's death. There were many Oneidas in the newer mission, which had several chiefs, dividing the civil and religious affairs.

In 1677 a party of 80 Mohawks robbed some Mahicans in New England, and others routed some of Uncas's men. They were ordered not to send parties against eastern Indians, but did not comply.

Dekanissora, the great Onondaga orator, began to be prominent in 1678, at that time taking his grandfather's name of Niregouentaron, though hardly known by this. He was speaker at Montreal in 1682 and spoke last at Albany in 1724. His appearance and abilities have been often eulogized. Colden said of him:

> He was grown old when I saw him, and heard him speak; he had a great Fluency in speaking, and a graceful Elocution, that would have pleased in any part of the World. His Person was tall and well made, and his Features, to my thinking, resembled much the Busts of Cicero.

Though long faithful to the English, for some reason Governor Burnet thought him in the French interest later in life. He ceased to be speaker and died in Canada.

In 1678 the adventurous La Salle occupied Niagara, and launched the *Griffon* in the spring of 1679 for the navigation of Lake Erie. It was soon wrecked.

Beside complaints about the Senecas in Maryland, the New Englanders complained of the Mohawks in 1678, and hoped Andros might persuade them to send back their Indian captives. About the southern troubles, "ye oneides deemed ye first nation of sineques," were at first insolent, but at last they and the Onondagas promised to send no more parties.

The Mohawks were quiet in 1680, but the Onondagas and Senecas continued to send bands against the Illinois in spite of French remonstrances. They had burned one of their towns

and taken over 600 prisoners, mostly women and children. De Tonty was wounded and a Recollect friar killed. The Miamis feared the Iroquois so much that they got the Illinois to seek an accommodation. The Iroquois justified the war against the latter. It began 20 years before, and the vanquished Illinois left the country. Then the Iroquois carried on the war against the Andastes vigorously and subdued them. Meantime the Illinois returned and killed 40 Iroquois as they went to hunt beaver in the abandoned country. War followed, and La Salle unwisely increased the difficulty. The Illinois again fled, and the Iroquois pursued them to the Mississippi, killing and capturing hundreds. They were busy elsewhere. In 1680 the Massachusetts commissioners said the Mohawks had killed or captured 60 of their friendly Indians in three years.

Till 1681 Onondaga had been at various places near Limestone creek, but in that year it was removed to a new site west of this, on Butternut creek. Though such removals were frequent, Father Lamberville's account of this one is unique. He said:

> On my arrival I found the Iroquois of this village occupied in transporting their corn, their effects and their cabins to a place 2 leagues distant from their former residence, where they had dwelt for 19 years. They make this change in order to have there their firewood in convenient proximity, and to secure fields more fertile than those that were abandoned. This is not done without difficulty; for, inasmuch as carts are not used here, and the country is very hilly, the labor of the men and women, who carry their goods on their backs, is consequently harder and of longer duration. To supply the lack of horses the inhabitants of these forests render reciprocal aid to one another, so that a single family will hire sometimes 80 or 100 persons; and these are in turn obliged to render the same service to those who may require it from them, or they are freed from the obligation by giving food to those whom they have employed.

In September 1681 some Kiskakons captured a Seneca, who was killed by Illinois visitors in their village near Michilimackinac. This alarmed the Ottawas, who feared utter destruction and appealed to the French. The western Indians came to Montreal on this business in 1682, and the Iroquois were invited there.

Dekanissora said they were going to fight the Illinois but not the others, and Frontenac asked for a general council the next year. He did not favor holding this at La Famine. At a conference between him, the Kiskakons, Hurons and others, the Kiskakons were not disposed to cover the grave of Annenhac, the Seneca chief, which was necessary to insure peace.

In September 1682 Dekanissora wished Frontenac to meet the Iroquois at Ochoueguen (Oswego), the first mention of that place by name, though the river was thus known earlier. This was refused. Farther west the Iroquois plundered some French canoes. Father Lamberville wrote from Onondaga Sep. 22 that Dekanissora "loves the French; but neither he nor any other of the Upper Iroquois fears them in the least, and they are all ready to pounce upon Canada on the first provocation." They were gaining men. "They have reinforced themselves during this and the preceding year by more than Nine hundred warriors." La Salle now abandoned Fort Frontenac, but it was soon occupied again.

That year a peace treaty was made at Albany between the Iroquois and Maryland. The commissioner said the leader of the depredating party was certainly an Onondaga. The Onondagas replied that both leaders were killed, but made satisfaction.

Chapter 11

De la Barre at La Famine. Onondaga speaker there. Governor Dongan and Susquehanna lands. Iroquois captives for French galleys. Influence of Iroquois. Lamberville. English traders go west. De Nonville's treachery. Destruction of Seneca towns. Post at Niagara. Illinois subdued. Plan for destroying Iroquois. Hotreouate' and Adario. Embassy surprised. Bloody war. Capture of Milet. Iroquois depredations. Return of Frontenac. Schenectady destroyed. English at the Onondaga council. Blacksmiths.

Count Frontenac was replaced by Governor de la Barre in 1682, and the latter was instructed to invade the Iroquois country if advisable, and prevent their attacking the Illinois and others. Hence came his disastrous attempt two years later. In May 1683 it was reported that 500 Iroquois had gone west to attack the Ottawas and seize Michilimackinac. They were to be joined by 300 others, but found the post too strong. That year the

Senecas reinforced themselves with 150 prisoners and hoped for more by a war in Virginia. Though all looked warlike, an Iroquois delegation of 43 chiefs came to Montreal in August, when the Senecas said the Illinois must die, and De la Barre was silent. The missionaries began to leave the New York towns. Fremin, Pierron and Garnier retired in 1683; Carheil was driven from Cayuga in 1684; Milet left Oneida the same year; and Jean de Lamberville alone remained at Onondaga, doing good work for the French, for his influence was great.

War with the Senecas seemed imminent in 1684. De la Barre seized a Seneca deputy and his attendants, and made great preparations for subduing that nation, they having captured French trading boats. Garakontie' 2 spoke at Onondaga, turning the musket against the Shawnees, but the French might protect the Miamis if they would. Hotreouate', otherwise La Grande Gueule, or Grangula, favored the French, who made him many presents. The great Cayuga chief, Oreaouhe', was going to Montreal to talk matters over.

De la Barre took nearly 900 men up the river, most of them going as far as La Famine, and there and at Fort Frontenac many became sick. A few Onondagas came to meet him; and there occurred his famous conference with Hotreouate', called Grangula by La Hontan and Garangula by Colden, both corruptions of his French name of La Grande Gueule, or Big Mouth. This may have come from his oratory or his love of good living. Jean de Lamberville said he had "the strongest head and loudest voice among the Iroquois." M. de Meulles called him a "sycophant who seeks merely a good dinner," but added that he "fooled the General in a most shameful manner." La Hontan, who was present and whose account agrees with all the circumstances, gives us a favorable impression. De la Barre was at one end of the hollow square, the chief and his followers at the other, the French opening the council with a speech. La Hontan said:

While Mr de la Barre's interpreter pronounced this harangue, the Grangula did nothing, but looked upon the end of his pipe.

After the speech was finished, he rose, and having took five or six turns in the ring that the French and the savages made, he returned to his place, and standing upright, spoke after the following manner to the General, who sat in his chair of state.

Then followed that strain of dignified sarcasm which has never been surpassed. He knew the condition of the French, and it was idle to say so many soldiers were on an errand of peace. Sickness had fortunately saved their lives. The sun had not dried up the swamps which made the Iroquois towns inaccessible to the French. "Our Children and old Men had carried their Bows and Arrows into the Heart of your Camp, if our Warriors had not disarmed them and kept them back." They had plundered the French who carried warlike munitions to their foes. It was a proper act of self-defense, but "Our Warriors have not Beavers enough to pay for all these Arms that they have taken, and our old Men are not afraid of the War." They would trade with whom they chose. "We are born free, we neither depend on Onnondio or Corlaer. We may go where we please, and carry with us whom we please, and buy and sell what we please. If your Allies be your Slaves, use them as such."

De la Barre was enraged but powerless; and Colden said that this great expedition "ended in a Scold between the French General and an old Indian." The Illinois were abandoned to their fate, and the French army ingloriously returned.

Governor Dongan was already in New York and had something to say on these affairs, though not always wisely; and Arnold Viele, his deputy at Onondaga, offended the chiefs by his words. He put the king's arms on all the Iroquois castles and the French said he promised them aid. Governor Dongan did another effective but doubtful thing, persuading the Onondagas and Cayugas to place their Susquehanna lands under the king's protection, lest Penn's agents should secure them. They said that by conquest these lands belonged to them alone and they fastened them to New York. Acting ostensibly for the public good and against Penn, he yet wrote to him Oct. 22, 1683:

All business here goes on to great Satisfaction; the Sesquehannok River is given me by the Indians by a second gift, about

which you and I shall not fall out; I desire we may Joyne heartily together to advance the Interest of my Master and your good Friend; I expect to hear from you, how you would have me proceed.

Jan. 13, 1696, for £100 he granted the Indian lands on the Susquehanna to William Penn, "which the said Thos. Dongan lately purchased of, or had given to him by the Sennica Susquehanah Indians."

One feature of De la Barre's mission should not be overlooked, as it was acted on later. In writing to him about the proposed war in 1684, Louis 14 said:

As it tends to the good of my servants to diminish, as much as possible the numbers of the Iroquois, and moreover, as these savages, who are very strong and robust, will serve usefully in my galleys, I will that you do everything in your power to make a great number of them prisoners of war, and have them embarked by every opportunity that will offer, in order that they be conveyed to France.

Throughout this affair the Senecas had been defiant and all the Iroquois had carried their points. The result was that, after De la Barre's return, 40 Onondagas went at once against the Illinois. They had told him that "the entire Iroquois nation reserved to itself the power of waging war against the Illinois, as long as a single one of them should remain on earth." De la Barre had already complained of the attack on Fort St Louis in Illinois in the spring and of the plundering of French canoes, but without avail.

King Louis was displeased at De la Barre's abandonment of the Illinois and sent De Nonville to take his place in 1685. He was to aid the Illinois and humble the Iroquois. A new trouble came. For purposes of trade both the English and Iroquois were desirous of an alliance with the Ottawas. A French soldier saw 11 English trading canoes going west, guided by French deserters. They reached the Ottawas that year for the first time, crossing Lake Erie to do so. Desertions of French soldiers were frequent, and about that time the Onondagas sent back five who had come there from Fort Frontenac.

At Albany Aug. 2, 1684, the Onondagas and Cayugas made proposals to Governor Howard of Virginia and Governor Dongan. They called the former by a name derived from his own, Asharegowa, or Big Knife. As provinces, Virginia was Aragiske, and Maryland, Jaquokranaegare. To the Duke of York they gave sovereignty over their Susquehanna lands above Washinta or the falls. They said:

Wee have putt all our land and our selfs under the Protection of the great Duke of York, the brother of your great Sachim; We have given the Susquehanne River which we wonn with the sword to this Government and desire that it may be a branch of that great tree that grows here.

In 1686 the Iroquois were still seeking the Ottawa alliance as agents for English traders. Governor Dongan had a sense of Iroquois importance:

The five Indian Nations are the most warlike people in America, & a bulwark between us & the French & all other Indians. . . All the Indians in these parts of America are Tributareys to them.

Colden said of the tribute paid them:

Two old Men commonly go about every Year or two, to receive this Tribute; and I have often had Opportunity to observe what Anxiety the poor Indians were under, while these two old Men remained in that Part of the Country where I was. An old Mohawk Sachem, in a poor Blanket and a dirty Shirt, may be seen issuing his Orders with as arbitrary an Authority, as a Roman Dictator.

Regarding the proposed intercourse with the Ottawas, Charlevoix said: "Nothing was fraught with greater danger than this opening of trade between New York and the nations whom we had till now regarded as our most faithful allies." Father Lamberville had been away from Onondaga for a short time, and De Nonville sent him back with presents. It was high time, for Governor Dongan's men had been busy and the Onondagas were suspicious and angry. Charlevoix said:

His presence in a moment changed the face of affairs. He spoke to the chiefs with that frankness and that insinuating manner that had won him the esteem and affection of that nation; he dispelled almost all the suspicions that had been instilled into them.

In that year 20 English trading canoes passed Oswego Falls, going west, and 200 Senecas went against the Miamis. There was a good deal of spicy correspondence between Dongan and De Nonville. In 1686 the latter wrote: "Think you, Sir, that Religion will make any progress whilst your Merchants will supply, as they do, *Eau de Vie* in abundance?" To which Dongan replied: "Certainly our Rum doth as little hurt as your Brandy, and in the opinion of Christians is much more wholesome." So both gave the Indians all they wanted.

All this time De Nonville regarded war as certain and prepared for it more prudently than honorably. The details of his treachery are somewhat confused, but that they were disreputable, there is no question. He employed Father Jean de Lamberville to draw the Iroquois chiefs to Fort Frontenac, intending to hold them prisoners, as he did, but said, "the poor Father, however, knows nothing of our designs," and left him to his fate. The Onondagas were more merciful. Knowing that he was incapable of such treachery, the chiefs and old men came quietly to him, told him of the situation and their opinion, and sent him away, safely guarded, to the French, fearing the violence of the young men. Charlevoix ascribed this considerate act to Garakontie' 2.

The Iroquois chiefs visited the Cayuga towns west of Fort Frontenac before coming there, and 60 men were seized and imprisoned at the fort. According to La Hontan, they were ill-treated and had much sympathy from the French. De Nonville sent 13 of them to France as galley slaves, following the advice given to De la Barre; but King Louis returned them, sending Count Frontenac as governor, and the latter may have showed him that the act was impolitic. Oreaoue' and another Cayuga chief were captured on the St Lawrence before this, but the former came back with Frontenac and became so attached to him that he took the French side in council and field.

De Nonville followed the southern shore of Lake Ontario unopposed, his large army being in boats. Among others, he had 100 Iroquois of the Sault and of the Mountain with him. Garonhiague' led the former, and Tegaretwan the latter, both

being killed in this campaign. Kryn, the Great Mohawk, was with them. Most of these Iroquois would not fight against their eastern kindred, but had no scruples about the distant Senecas.

De Nonville landed at Irondequoit bay and finished a large fort there, July 12, 1687, leaving a guard of 440 men. On the 13th the army marched toward the Seneca towns, with an Ottawa reinforcement. Two defiles were safely passed, but in the third, near the present village of Victor, part of the army was surprised by 800 Senecas. Both sides had considerable loss, but the Senecas left the field and abandoned their towns. The Canadian Iroquois fought well in this engagement, but the western Indians not only showed cowardice but feasted on their dead enemies.

Next day a large village was entered, most of which had been burned, and others in the same condition were visited afterward. Formal possession was taken of four towns and one small fort. These were Totiakton, Gannagaro, Gannondata, and Gannongarae, with the small fort. Mr O. H. Marshall published maps of the march, and the town sites are well identified. De Nonville took possession of the villages and also

> All the lands in their vicinity as many and how far soever they may extend, conquered in His Majesty's name, and to that end has planted in all the said Villages and Forts His said Majesty's Arms, and has caused to be proclaimed in loud voice, *Vive le Roi.*

A vast quantity of grain was destroyed, with many hogs. On the return the stockade was burned, and the army went on to Niagara. There a fort was built, garrisoned by 100 men, which was abandoned the next year. The army returned by the north shore of the lake, usually thought safest, but the south shore had been followed in going, as all the Iroquois villages were thus threatened.

These things alarmed the Iroquois, and the Onondagas wanted cannon for their fort; but the English thought these useless, and they were not furnished. In November the English king formally received the Iroquois as his subjects, and hostilities against them were forbidden. They probably thought this a

mere alliance and treated it as such. At the same time the return of the Indians in France was demanded.

Hostilities had gone on in the west, where the Iroquois had subdued the Illinois after a six years war. They now turned against the Twightwees, or Miamis, who interfered with their beaver hunting. In 1687 the English gave them a barrel of powder to aid them in this war.

In 1688 the Iroquois attacked the Mission of the Mountain, killing Haratsion, its chief. Then the French Iroquois began to waver and surrendered their prisoners, 50 of their own men also returning to the New York towns. Kryn stood fast and was able to turn back a Mohawk war party which he met. At this time the Mohawks advised Dongan to build two forts, one at Cayonhage, at the mouth of Salmon river, and the other at Onjadarakte, now Ticonderoga, both customary landing places.

A shrewd plan was proposed in Canada for destroying the Iroquois. A party should go against the Mohawks by way of Lake Champlain, while another went by way of Cayonhage or La Famine, thence to Oneida river, where Tethiroguen would be destroyed, and Touenho a little farther south. Onondaga was next to be taken, where the French would winter, and proceed to destroy Cayuga in the spring and return. The party on the Mohawk would also destroy the Oneidas. The plan ignored English interference and was not tried.

In 1688 a convoy of canoes was surprised near Fort Frontenac by 25 or 30 Iroquois, and 17 canoes were destroyed. In June of that year the great Onondaga chief Hotreouate', or La Grande Gueule, visited Montreal, making several speeches and a declaration of neutrality, but obliged the French to give up their allies to their fate. At that time Charlevoix called him by another name. He said:

When they arrived near Cataracouy, Haaskouan, one of the deputies, called in French *la Grande Gueule,* advanced from the party, entered the fort, and asked the commandant for one of his officers to accompany him to Montreal.

The request was granted, but the officer was surprised to find

himself in the midst of 500 Onondagas. Just afterward he gave the French another great fright by way of a joke. At Lake St Francis they met another party, and then the deputies went on alone. Charlevoix said that Haaskouan was speaker and a Seneca, but that Hotreouate', the Onondaga, was meant is very clear. His address alarmed the French, and he gave them four days to answer. He was expected again at Montreal, but had not come Oct. 10, nor did he again appear. He may have been in the peace embassy attacked by the Huron chief, the Rat, otherwise known as Adario or Kondiaronk, to whom De Nonville had promised that the war should go on till the Iroquois were destroyed. While on the warpath, he heard that Onondaga deputies were on their way to conclude peace. He at once waylaid them at La Famine, killed one, seized the rest and then pretended that he did this by advice of the French. They readily believed this of De Nonville. All were set free with apologies, but one whom he reserved for adoption. This one he gave to the French at Michilimackinac, and they shot him, as he intended.

The Iroquois were roused to fury, and the bloody war of 1689 followed. There would now be no peace till their friends were sent back from the galleys. Fort Frontenac was invested by 900 Iroquois, but they failed to take it. Father Milet was captured there and carried to Oneida, where he was afterward adopted and became a principal chief. He was long a subject of controversy with the English, who wished to hold him. The simple song which his captors made him sing on the road has a pathetic tone: "*Ongienda kchasakehoua!* I have been taken by my children!" One of his names at this time was Genherontatie', The Dying One who marches.

From Fort Frontenac the Iroquois went to Montreal, killing or capturing 300 or 400 there. In one of these raids 200 French were killed in an hour, and in August 1500 Iroquois came and did all the damage they pleased, landing at Lachine in a storm, and burning and killing for two days without opposition. In November 150 returned to the island of Montreal, killing many and

taking a small fort. A party of 22 Iroquois was destroyed, but one escaping. It must be remembered that the fears of the French exaggerated their numbers, but all were in the utmost terror when Frontenac came back from France in October 1689. The old man had not lost all his youthful energy, and the French took courage. He brought back the Indian prisoners, and this and the smallpox restrained the Iroquois incursions. The capture of Schenectady followed; and in this expedition the French lost 21 men. Kryn commanded 80 French Iroquois in this. He was killed in June 1690, his party being mistaken for enemies by some of the Abenaquiois. It had been hoped that he would draw all the Mohawks to Canada.

This year the Albany people sent six men, with three teams of horses, to aid the Mohawks in rebuilding one of their castles a mile farther up the river.

Colden said that the Leisler troubles and the change of government caused remarks among the Iroquois. The Mohawks said:

> We hear that a Dutch Prince reigns now in England, why do you suffer the English Soldiers to remain in the Fort? put all the English out of the Town. When the Dutch held this Country long ago, we lay in their Houses; but the English have always made us lie without Doors.

Colden and Smith both described a council at Onondaga almost unnoticed in other colonial records. There had been a previous one at Albany, September 1689, in which the Five Nations conferred with delegates from New England, who wished their aid against some eastern Indians. They replied, "We can not declare War against the Eastern Indians, for they have done us no Harm." At this time they told the English that 140 Iroquois were scouting along Canada, and nothing would escape their notice. Dec. 27, 1689, messengers came to say that three of the released prisoners were at Onondaga, with proposals from Canada, and they wished the mayor of Albany, Peter Schuyler and others, to come there to a council. The magistrates sent a Mohawk chief, the interpreter and another person, but, unwisely,

"no Person of Note, that had any Influence on the Indians, went."

This council met at Onondaga, Jan. 22, 1690, with 80 sachems present, Sadekanaghtie' presiding. Frontenac notified them of his return with 13 Indians who had been carried to France. Adarahta, chief sachem of the French Iroquois, spoke on three belts, and others followed. The Seneca chief, Cannehoot, gave an account of negotiations with western Indians, who gave "a red Marble Sun as large as a Plate," and "a large Pipe of red Marble."

After the Seneca Speaker had done, the Wagunha Presents were hung up in the House, in the Sight of the whole Assembly, and afterwards distributed among the several Nations, and their Acceptance was a Ratification of the Treaty. A large Belt was given also to the Albany Messengers as their Share. The Belt of Wampum sent from Albany was in like Manner hanged up, and afterwards divided. New-England, which the Indians call Kinshon, (that is a Fish) sent likewise the Model of a Fish, as a token of their adhering to the general Covenant. This Fish was handed round among the Sachems, and then laid aside to be put up.

They rejected the French alliance, but would not give up Milet to the English. "The Indians were resolved to keep all the Means of making Peace in their own Hands," and Milet had a choice of masters.

About this time mention was made of the settlement of some Mahicans at Schaghticoke, nearly 20 years earlier; according to Colden in 1672. Now, too, it became customary to send blacksmiths to the Iroquois towns, and references to this are frequent. This led to amusing disputes, for it was a matter of political importance whether these smiths were French or English.

Chapter 12

Failure of expedition against Canada. Agents at Onondaga. Proposed English missionaries. Iroquois losses. Oreaoue' and Black Kettle. Mohawk towns captured. Governor Fletcher. Council at Albany. Dekanissora in Canada. Fort Frontenac restored. Colonial congress at Albany. Delawares and Iroquois. Western Indians hostile. War with the French. Invasion of Onondaga. Old Indian tortured. Frontenac's conduct. Some Oneidas remove to Canada.

In 1690 the English made a serious attempt on Canada by way of the St Lawrence and Lake Champlain, both expeditions failing.

At Lake George the Iroquois made elm bark canoes, in which the English were afraid to embark, and, when smallpox broke out, the expedition was abandoned. In November a commission was given to "Aernout Cornelisse Viele, resident agent among the Indians at their court of Onondaga; Gerrit Luycasse to act as agent till Viele arrives." Chevalier d'Eau had been sent there in June with four Frenchmen and four Indians, to draw the Iroquois to the French interest, and the English asked to have them sent to Albany. On this

The 5 Nacôns being met by their chieftnes together at Onondague aforesaid, (which is their Court) Seized them and bound them instantly, despoyling them of all their Money, Presents, & what they had, presenting them to the Sinneks, Coiegues, Oneydes, and Macquaes, each one of the French men to be treated in their Barbarous manner.

D'Eau was given to the English. From New York he was taken to Boston and allowed to escape. In Canada fighting went on in the island of Montreal, and the French said "there was no security anywhere." Famine naturally followed.

The New York Indian agents saw advantages gained by the French missionaries, which were not of a religious nature, and wished to send

Some young divines to undertake to instruct the Indians especially ye Maquase in the true Protestant Religion since divers had an inclination to itt One being by the great pains and industry of Our Minister Dom: Dellius brought soe far yt he made his publick confession in the Church at Albany to every body's admiration and was baptized accordingly.

Governor Sloughter had a conference with the Five Nations at Albany in 1691. They said: "We did formerly desire, that we might have a Smith at Onnondaga, whereupon a young Man that was a Smith by Trade, was sent us, and we gave him 20 Beaver for his encouragement to stay, but is gone away; again we request that we may have a Smith there."

The Mohawks resented English inactivity and before the conference sent messengers to Canada. A Mohawk brought news from Canada that there was "a designe to goe out and fight against Onnondage and 30 praying Indians were ready to goe out

the next day to annoy the Onnondages." Frontenac had said to the Indians that he would gather a large force against the Iroquois, "and fall upon them vizt first on the Sennekaes and then on the Cayouges, Onnondages, and Oneydoes and passe by the Maquaes and soe come down and fall on the Christians at Albany." Governor Sloughter said, if Albany "be lost our Indians are lost, and if the French get them they certainly get all America."

An expedition against Canada, in which the Iroquois were to aid, was arranged. The third Mohawk castle, mourning the death of its chief sachem, Tahaiodoris, forgot its quota of men, but would send 74. The first two castles were ready. Major Schuyler headed this party of 300 Mohawks and 150 English, having moderate success. When he attacked a party on his retreat, the Schaghticoke Indians did not behave well, but "the Mohawks, upon no Occasion, yielded an Inch of Ground, till the English first gave Way."

That year the principal captains of the Mohawks and Oneidas were all killed. For a winter march the Senecas were making snowshoes between Onondaga and the St Lawrence in December. Others went down the river in November, 800 landing on the island of Montreal and burning many houses. Fort Frontenac had gone to decay, the villages were defenseless, the French melted leaden gutters and weights for bullets, and the Iroquois made obstinate attacks. Quite a battle occurred with the Oneidas near Montreal, in which Oreaoue', the Cayuga chief, took part on the French side. The Oneidas were surprised in a house, which was set on fire, and most of them perished. Three prisoners were burned by French farmers who had lost relatives. Hostilities were incessant. The Mohawks carried off some Caughnawagas and attacked the village of the Mountain, killing Tondiharon, the chief, and capturing 35 women and children. That year the Iroquois cast the French war belt on the ground. While the Mohawks were successful, the western Indians harassed the Senecas.

Oreaoue' was now zealous for the French, making prisoners

of his own friends, and Frontenac did not hesitate to have these tortured. All wanted the Cayuga chief as a leader, and he was constantly on the warpath. On the St Lawrence 38 Frenchmen surprised an Iroquois party, some of whom escaped, returning with aid and killing half the French. The following winter 40 Mohawks attacked Fort Vercheres, carrying off 20 people. They were pursued, and most of the captives were recovered. Mlle de Vercheres successfully defended the fort, as her mother had done two years before.

There were Canadian successes. In February 1692, a party of 120 French and 205 Indians attacked 50 Iroquois at Toniata, killing 24 and taking 16. In May a French and Indian party was defeated at the Long Sault of the Ottawa with much loss; but the victors were beaten in turn, and the captives recovered. Two large Iroquois parties in October did nothing. In November 400 Iroquois came down the St Lawrence, appearing in sight of Montreal, while 400 came by way of Lake Champlain. They did but little damage. M. Beaucour marched 300 men to attack the Iroquois near Niagara, 80 of whom fought him, losing most of their number.

Kanadgegai, or Black Kettle, a noted Onondaga chief, headed the party at the Long Sault, and made another dash July 15, taking some prisoners. There was fighting on the Ottawa, and the Iroquois alone kept Canada in constant alarm. Charlevoix said that Black Kettle overran the country "as a Torrent does the Low-lands, when it overflows its banks, and there is no withstanding it. The Soldiers had Orders to stand upon the defensive within their Forts." This year his wife was killed while trying to escape from a mission town in Canada. In this warfare the Mohawks had lost 90 men in two years, leaving them but 130, and the French Iroquois 60 men in 7 years.

In June 1692 the Iroquois renewed the covenant with the English, now under Captain Ingoldsby, desiring that the important blacksmith's anvil might be retained at Onondaga and a smith live there. The Indians did most of the fighting; and, when Ingoldsby reproved them for their carelessness, they replied:

"Let us not reproach one another, such Words do not savour well among Friends." Of one present they said:

We return you Thanks for the Powder and Lead given us; but what shall we do without Guns, shall we throw them at the Enemy? We doubt they will not hurt them so. Before this we always had Guns given us. It is no Wonder the Governor of Canada gains upon us, for he supplies his Indians with Guns as well as Powder; he supplies them plentifully with every Thing that can hurt us.

In January 1693 a party of 625 men left Montreal to attack the Mohawks, effecting a complete surprise and bringing away 200 prisoners, most of whom escaped on the return march. Nearly a score of Mohawks were killed in this inroad. The French party passed Schenectady Feb. 8, and the alarm was given there, but no word was sent to the Mohawks. Two of their forts were quickly taken. In the third and largest a war party prepared to go out next day, and in the noise of the war dance the French surprised them and killed many. The invaders became perfectly destitute and would have been destroyed had the pursuit continued. In this retreat there was some fighting, both parties making rude forts in the woods, and both suffering for lack of food. Colden said: "The French designed to have put them all to the Sword, but their own Indians would not suffer it, and gave Quarter. They took three hundred Prisoners, of whom one hundred were fighting Men." Major Schuyler went to the aid of the indignant Mohawks, and most of the prisoners were recovered. Colden said:

The Indians eat the Bodies of the French that they found. Coll. Schuyler (as he told me himself) going among the Indians at that Time, was invited to eat Broth with them, which some of them had already boiled, which he did, till they, putting the Ladle into the Kettle to take out more, brought out a French Man's Hand, which put an end to his Appetite.

He elsewhere speaks of the indifference as to food:

A Mohawk Sachem told me with a Kind of Pride, that a Man eats every Thing without Distinction, Bears, Cats, Dogs, Snakes, Frogs, &c., intimating, that it is Womanish to have any Delicacy in the Choice of Food.

That year the Oneidas sent Tareha to Canada with peace belts, to arrange an exchange of prisoners. At the end of Lake St Louis were 800 Iroquois, but they did no harm. It was about this time that St Michel escaped from Onondaga, where preparations to burn him were being made. He said that but few desired peace, and that the English had built a strong fort there, which had eight bastions and three rows of pickets.

Though the Oneidas generally favored the French, it was noted this year that Odongaowa, the long (great) Oneida, the particular friend of Father Milet, was now on the English side. That year many were killed near the Onondaga and Mohawk castles, and the enemy even tied a bunch of reeds to the door of a Mohawk fort. In May the Virginia and Maryland Indians asked Governor Fletcher "to persuade the Senecas from doing them any harm in their hunting," as they had done.

Governor Fletcher had a conference with the Five Nations at Albany in July 1693. They called him Cayenquirago, or Great Swift Arrow, in allusion to his name and the speed with which he came to their aid. At this time he made them quite a present. Colden remarked on this:

> The King usually sends them a considerable Present with every new Governor of New York, which is not always applied as it is designed. If this Present had been made sooner, it had been of much more Use to the English, as well as to the Five Nations.

Dirck Wessel attended a council at Onondaga in August and tried to get possession of Father Milet, but failed. Aquadaronde, chief sachem of Onondaga, was sick, but was brought into the council by four men. This title seems equivalent to that of Atotarho, his successor having the same, as well as the council name of the Onondagas.

In February 1694 a council was held in the street and city hall at Albany. The Onondaga chief could not be present, being sick, which Colden thought a convenient excuse. He was almost helpless the preceding summer, and, when this Albany council was proposed, "the Onnondages replyed, no, let us send for Quider hither with the Maquaes, since Kagueendaronda is not

fit to travail." There was no important business beyond a relation of what the Oneidas had done. News came that the Shawnees and others were coming for a treaty, but they did not appear. Dekanissora was speaker at this time and for many years after.

Two Onondagas went to Montreal to see if Iroquois deputies would be well received, but these did not follow at once. The two were Torskin, nephew of Hotreouate', and a son of Garioye', an Iroquois of the Sault. Dekanissora and two chiefs of each nation came to Quebec in May and were well received. They proposed peace. Frontenac had publicly kicked away the Iroquois belts before, but was more gracious in private and afterward. The Onondaga speaker was a favorite, and his speech was recorded, with the summing up already given. They returned home in June but were recalled.

All were every Day, while they staid in the Place, entertained at the Governor's Table, or at the Tables of the most considerable Officers. Decanesora on his Side made a good Appearance, being cloathed in Scarlet, trim'd with Gold, and with a laced Bever Hat on his Head, which had been given him by Colonel Fletcher.

Colden notes also that he spoke to the Praying Indians of Canada, called Jernaistes: "First to those of Cahnawaga, (chiefly Mohawks) . . . then to the other castle called Canassadaga, (chiefly Onondagas)."

Fort Frontenac was now restored, though the place was unhealthy, 87 out of 100 men having died there in a year. In October Father Milet was released, but some Oneida deputies who followed were not well received. Oreaoue' brought some friendly Cayuga and Seneca chiefs there and did wonders for the French, both in peace and war.

All these things alarmed the English. Governor Fletcher wrote to the other colonies, telling them there was no safety but in united effort and calling a council at Albany in August, in which Colden says New York, New Jersey, Connecticut and Massachusetts were represented. According to him, Dekanissora sang a song of peace at the opening, and Rode the Mohawk and Sadakanahtie the Onondaga spoke.

In 1694 the Delawares definitely appear in Iroquois history, having long been subject to them in a quiet way. The time came afterward when they did not like this, and said they were deceived by the Iroquois when persuaded to become women and thus peacemakers. Heckewelder says of this office: "It must be understood that among these nations wars are never brought to an end but by the interference of the weaker sex." Then he tells the story invented by them, on which Albert Gallatin remarked: "The tale suggested by the vanity of the Delawares, and in which the venerable Heckewelder placed implicit faith, that this treaty was a voluntary act on the part of the Delawares, is too incredible to require a serious discussion." Heckewelder gives the speech and acts supposed to have been used in making the Delawares women, which may be compared with the historic ceremony of restoring their rights. The speech had three parts:

The first was, that they declared the Delaware nation to be the *woman* in the following words: "We dress you in a woman's long habit, reaching down to your feet, and adorn you with earrings"; meaning that they should no more take up arms. The second point was thus expressed: "We hang a calabash filled with oil and medicine upon your arm. With the oil you shall cleanse the ears of the other nations, that they may attend to good and not to bad words, and with the medicine you shall heal those who are walking in foolish ways, that they may return to their senses and incline their hearts to peace." The third point, by which the Delawares were exhorted to make agriculture their future employ and means of subsistence, was thus worded: "We deliver into your hands a plant of Indian corn and a hoe." Each of these points was confirmed by delivering a belt of wampum, and these belts have been carefully laid up, and their meaning frequently repeated. The Iroquois, on the contrary, assert that they conquered the Delawares, and that the latter were forced to adopt the defenceless state and appellation of a *woman* to avoid total ruin.

What the Delawares' earlier statement really was appears in a conference held with them in Philadelphia July 6, 1694. A belt was produced by them, sent, they said

By the Onondages & Senekaes, who say, you delaware Indians doe nothing but stay att home & boill yor potts, and are like women, while wee Onondages & Senekaes goe abroad & fight agt the enemie. The Senekaes wold have us delaware Indians to be ptners wt you to fight agt ye french, But we have always been a peaceable people, & resolving to live so, & being but week and verie few in number, can not assist you; & having resolved among ourselves not to goe, doe intend to send back this their belt of Wampum.

In 1695, as he had said before, Louis 14 did not think it proper to continue the reward of 10 silver e'cus (each 60 sous) for every Iroquois killed, nor the 20 e' cus for every male Iroquois prisoner. It cost too much.

A messenger informed the French that the only Dutchman then at Onondaga was Peter Schuyler's brother. War parties went out against the English from Canada, and the Iroquois had a party watching the Grand river for western Indians. Against the Miamis 200 Senecas and Cayugas were gone, and 100 against the Andastes, as reported; probably some other southern Indians. They threatened to devour the Miamis, that they might unite the whole earth, but the lake tribes they would not strike. The French persuaded all but the Hurons to make war on them, though they did not wish to do this. A Sioux chief afterward laid 22 arrows on a beaver robe before Frontenac, weeping and naming a village for each which asked his protection.

The Outagamis had spared some Iroquois prisoners, the better to negotiate. Fearing the Sioux would seize their village, they left it to settle by the Wabash river, where they could unite with the Iroquois and English. Others would join them. Some Hurons, led by a chief called the Baron and with the consent of the nations about Michilimackinac, went to the Senecas with 14 peace belts, but most western nations joined Frontenac.

Peace negotiations had continued till April, when a cruel war recommenced with much loss to the French. An Iroquois party was defeated on Lake Champlain with mutual loss. Word came that the Hurons, Ottawas, Foxes and Maskoutins proposed

joining the Iroquois, and it seemed necessary to strike that people. Frontenac held a council with the Ottawas July 18, and others followed. They had made peace with the Iroquois, but they were induced to break this, and they treacherously attacked and defeated one of their parties. Some of the prisoners were Hurons, but the French no longer feared peace between the Iroquois and Ottawas. Some of the latter were recalled by Frontenac to roast and eat an Iroquois prisoner, but he died before they could torture him, so they cut off his head for a feast and departed.

Speaking of some depredations below Montreal this year, it was said, "These blows were struck by some Mohawks and Oneidas, as we discover by their tomahawks, which they left sticking in the ground, according to their custom." There are many references to this.

In Aquendara's speech at Onondaga in 1695, he commented severely on European pretensions, and said:

We, warriors, are the first and the ancient people, and the greatest of you all. These parts and countries were all inhabited and trod upon by us, the warriors, before any Christian. (Then stamping hard with his foot on the ground, he said) We shall not suffer Cadaracqui to be inhabited again.

All that summer 700 men were repairing that fort, preparing for the coming year. In 1696 a plan to attack the Mohawks was given up, the snow being very deep in the woods and 7 feet of snow everywhere between Montreal and the fort, a thing never before known. This only retarded hostilities. The great war kettle was set over by Frontenac, humanity was to be laid aside, and the Onondagas to be first subdued as most mutinous of all.

Just before this, the Iroquois had sent deputies to conclude peace with the five Mackinaw nations, and one present brought back was "a calumet of red stone, of extraordinary size and beauty." The Iroquois had hunted on good terms with the Hurons the whole winter, but were attacked by French Indians. The western nations refused to join the expedition against Onondaga.

In June, 10 Ottawas were prowling near that place, but made

no prisoners. Some Iroquois were taken in Canada, and of these four Onondagas were burned when the army reached Montreal. The force consisted of 1600 French and 460 Indians, occupying 400 boats, the Indians being mostly with the vanguard, which changed every day. Frontenac was carried across the portage at Oswego Falls in his canoe, and from the lake to Onondaga in a chair. A horse had been brought for M. de Callières on account of his lameness, and the artillery consisted of two small cannon and two light mortars.

From Lake Ontario the army followed the east bank of the Oswego river, crossing the Oneida river Aug. 1, and landing on the east side of Onondaga lake the same day. This was between Liverpool and Syracuse on the old mission ground, where a fort was built, the lines of which could be seen a century later. On that day bundles containing 1434 rushes were found at the foot of a tree, to show the force arrayed against them. The fort was finished Aug. 3, and the army crossed the marsh and encamped at the salt springs on the north limits of Syracuse, in readiness for the next day's march.

The town was 9 miles away, on the east side of Butternut creek, and there was probably a good trail, but the road had some great difficulties. Though the army started at sunrise, it was sunset when it reached Onondaga, and the town was in ashes. An old squaw was knocked on the head and an old man tortured, whose fortitude elicited the admiration of the French. It is fair to say that Father Lamberville's account differs widely from the official statement and that of Charlevoix. The priest saw the death of this man, whom he had baptized when last there, and whom he described as a benevolent and devout old man, who had been kind to the French. His Canadian relatives asked a speedy death for him, but the French insisted on a slow fire.

The official account is different. The Indians were excited:

It was not deemed prudent to dissuade them from the desire they felt to burn him. He had, no doubt, prepared himself during his long life to die with firmness, however cruel the tor-

tures he should have to endure. Not the slightest murmur escaped his lips; on the contrary, he exhorted those who tormented him to remember his death, in order that they may display similar courage when those of his nation should avenge his murder on them. And when a Savage, weary of his harangues, gave him some cuts of a knife: "I thank thee," he said, "but thou oughtest rather complete my death by fire. Learn French dogs! [how to suffer] and ye Savages, their Allies, who are dogs of dogs, remember what you have to do when you will occupy a position similar to mine."

De Vaudreuil made a quick march from Onondaga to Oneida, destroying it on the 7th and bringing as prisoners the men who welcomed him there. An Oneida was burned after the return to Montreal, and an Onondaga killed himself there in prison.

On its way to Onondaga the army left Lachine July 4, and began its return Aug. 9, being at Fort Frontenac Aug. 15. The French lost their time and harvests; the Onondagas their bark cabins and crops, but the English made good part of this loss.

Charlevoix gave a graphic account of Frontenac's conduct at Onondaga at this time, representing him as a jealous, peevish and wilful old man. At first he proposed going to Cayuga, destroying the towns and building French forts. All approved and some volunteered to remain. Before night he resolved to go home, in spite of all remonstrances. To these he replied: "They want to obscure my glory, and it is time that I should take a little repose." Charlevoix said "that no one of the projects which he formed for completely humbling them succeeded." All went on as before.

The Mohawks now brought peace belts to Canada. Two French parties were unfortunate, but an Iroquois canoe party was defeated on Lake Erie. There was a two hours' fight, and 55 Iroquois were killed. This broke up some western treaties. To show how far the Iroquois now strayed from home, it may be said that two Mohawks were this year sent back from England, who had been taken at the surrender of Fort York at Hudson bay.

In February 1697 33 Oneidas went to live at Caughnawaga. Others wished to go and asked land for a Canadian settlement

where the name of Oneida might be preserved, but the Onondagas and Mohawks prevented this. Though the French wished peace with them, the Onondagas resolved that none of their people should live in Canada. One of their chiefs was captured at the gate of Schenectady, and a proposed council between them, the Oneidas and French was defeated by the young men, who wished to avenge the death of a chief. In November an Onondaga peace embassy went to Canada, but brought no prisoners and had a cool reception. It did not speak for the Mohawks, and Frontenac proposed sending an expedition against them, but heavy snows prevented this.

There were various encounters during the year, in which four western nations said they had killed 100 Senecas. A French party was destroyed near Albany by the Mohawks and Mahicans, and the Iroquois were everywhere in the field. The French heard that the Baron had gone to live near Albany, with 30 Huron families. He went to Quebec, but sent his son with 19 belts, to make peace with the Senecas. This was done in spite of the French, who gave as a reason that the English sold them goods cheaper than they could. Trade affected Indian policy.

Chapter 13

Peace declared. Black Kettle killed. Oreaoue' dies. English protection of Iroquois. French and English agents at Onondaga. Frontenac dies. Western Indians hostile. Proposed Onondaga fort. Colonel Romer's journey. Money for fort. Iroquois make peace with Canada. Prisoners exchanged. Jesuits return to Iroquois. Council at Montreal. Beaver land deed. Penn's letter. French influence at Onondaga. Nanticoke tribute. Montour family. Iroquois join English.

Peace had been declared, and early in 1698 Black Kettle and his party were hunting near Fort Frontenac, having made peace with the French. There were over 30 Onondagas in the band, and their young men intended going against the Ottawas, who had killed 100 Iroquois in the past year. Frontenac did not like this and gave orders that some chiefs should be quietly secured. They were surprised by 34 Algonquins, who killed 20, including Black Kettle and four chiefs, and took eight prisoners. The scalps and prisoners were taken to Montreal. The Onondagas

complained, and Frontenac flung their belt from him, speaking of the chief's death as a trifling affair. He would give them something worth crying about. In private he talked better, but this interrupted negotiations. The Iroquois said that 94 of their people had been killed or captured since peace was declared, and it was worse than open war. An arrangement was made and prisoners were exchanged. Of the death of Black Kettle, Colden said:

> After he was mortally wounded, he cried out: "Must I, who have made the whole Earth tremble before me, now die by the Hands of Children?" for he despised the Adirondacks.

Soon after Black Kettle's death Oreaoue' died at Quebec, and was buried with ecclesiastic and military honors, "a worthy Frenchman and good Christian." A good story is told of his religious fervor. Greatly affected by the crucifixion of Christ, he said, had he been there, he would have avenged his death and brought away the scalps of his enemies.

Governor Bellomont now notified Frontenac that he had sent troops to Albany to protect the Iroquois, and that Lieutenant Governor Nanfan would go farther with them if need required. Dellius and Schuyler were sent to Canada to arrange an exchange of prisoners, but the Iroquois preferred doing this in their own way. If subjects, they were not submissive ones, and Bellomont found them quite sullen, but succeeded in conciliating them.

There was continual controversy on English and French relations to the Iroquois. In 1698 a New York merchant testified that he had lived in Albany since 1639, and that the Five Nations had almost every year since renewed the covenant with New York. Colonel Bayard understood that the Dutch settled at Albany in 1621; "and ever since that first settlement the Iroquaes or five Canton Indian Nations, have always kept up a good peace and correspondence with the Govern[t] of this Province." For 60 years past they had renewed this almost every year. History was uncertain even then.

In 1698 some Mohawks went to visit their relatives at the Sault, remaining some time and being well entertained. Charlevoix said:

It was something flattering for these Indians to see themselves thus sought by two powers, either of which could have destroyed them in less than one campaign, and whose mutual jealousies they had contrived to work upon so skilfully as to inspire fear, and in some sort respect from both.

Both French and English now found it necessary to have agents at Onondaga, and Bellomont urged the building of forts in the Iroquois country, the need of which he saw. Count Frontenac planned a second invasion of Onondaga, but gave it up and died late in 1698.

Dekanissora's proposal to treat directly with the French on the exchange of prisoners greatly alarmed the English, who described him as "a brave fighting fellow, that has done the French much mischief, and they have mightily endeavored to debauch him from us, but in vain." The Canadian Iroquois now took part, sending two belts to the four nations to tell them it was the last time they were bid to come to Canada to treat, and they were worse than beasts. The Onondagas, as the principal sufferers, with the Oneidas and Cayugas, thought best to send three messengers, and Bellomont tried to stop these till Schuyler could see them. Col. Peter Schuyler, Dirck Wessel and Hendrick Hansen formed the embassy; and it was resolved that Johannes Glen jr and John Baptist Van Epps, the interpreter, should reside at Onondaga for a time. The latter two went at once.

The Iroquois embassy reached Onondaga Mar. 21, 1699, on their return from Canada, bringing five belts and an offer to exchange prisoners. On this a council was called at Onondaga, to meet in 25 days. In such calls tally-sticks are attached to the wampum, a notch being removed every day.

Capt. John Schuyler, Capt. John Bleecker, John Baptist Van Epps and Arnout Cornelisse Viele set out for Onondaga Ap. 21, 1699, reaching there Ap. 28, and the latter two remaining for some time. At the council the young Indians kicked the French belts to a sachem, and the council accepted the English proposals and would come to Albany. The French had released all the Onondagas.

A council met in Albany June 13, and the Onondagas proposed the building of a fort in their country and the sending of a minister there. The Dowaganhaes killed some Senecas near their castle, and incursions of French Indians were frequent. The French should prevent these in a time of peace. One important act of this year was the restoration to the Mohawks of land fraudulently obtained from them by Dellius.

In 1700 there was an alarm that the Indians intended a general massacre in the English colonies. Bellomont did not like the provisioning of Fort Frontenac by the Onondagas and distrusted the request of Father Bruyas to go among them and the Mohawks. He favored a good sod fort at Onondaga, with a garrison of 100 men. It would cost from £1000 to £1200. The Five Nations should have presents costing £800. He used to laugh at the colonists for allowing 300 or 400 Indians to cut off four or five times their number, but he was wiser now, knowing how they fought. Yet their own losses were heavy. Before the war the Mohawks had 270 men, and now 110. The Oneidas were reduced from 180 to 70, the Onondagas from 500 to 250, the Cayugas from 300 to 200, the Senecas from 1300 to 600. Some of these figures may be doubted.

Robert Livingston was at Onondaga in April 1700, and this was still east of Butternut creek. It was no place for a fort, being 16 miles from water unless they went to Kaneenda on Onondaga lake. The town itself must soon be moved. The Onondagas were uneasy and dejected about the French; and two thirds of the Mohawks were in Canada, kindly cared for by them. The English ambassadors arrived at Kachnawaacharege, an Onondaga fishing place on Chittenango creek, Ap. 23, 1700. Thence they went to Onondaga and were heartily welcomed, having a satisfactory council.

Stories of poisoning were prevalent at this time and Aqueendero, the Onondaga head chief, went to live on Schuyler's estate on this account, nor did he long survive. His son had died by poison.

M. de Maricourt, Father Bruyas and eight more Frenchmen

came to Onondaga July 24. The first two spoke Iroquois as fluently as French. Among the warlike Onondagas there were as many French partizans as English, and there were slight hopes of retaining them. They needed English ministers, but they said, now they had their prisoners back, they would go to Canada no more.

At this time five Dowaganhaes, or Ottawas, came to Onondaga to make peace for three strong nations. The French had incited them to hostilities, but they had settled at Tchojachiage, on the north shore of Lake Ontario near the Senecas, and desired peace. With the Iroquois and English they wished "to boil in one kettle, eat out of one dish, and with one spoon, and so be one." The other Dowaganhaes had again killed many Iroquois at French instigation. They would not take the hatchet out of their heads till they submitted to the French and had killed 40 Senecas that spring. The French governor offered to take the hatchet from the Far Indians if the Iroquois would send one from each nation to treat with him.

At this time the Mohawks told the eastern Indians that, if they lived not peaceably with the English, they would come and cut them off, and they submitted.

Governor Bellomont conferred in Albany Aug. 20, 1700, with 50 Iroquois sachems, not allotted as in the condoling lists. There were 11 of each nation except the Oneida, and this had six. They were glad to be promised ministers. The French clothed all whom they baptized, but probably the English would not do that. The Mohawks had persuaded Brandt and three others who were going to Canada, to remain and be Protestants. The Praying Iroquois of Canada now numbered 350 men, and their wish to be Christians took them there.

Colonel Schuyler and all the Albany people opposed the Onondaga fort, as they wished trade at Albany. The beaver trade had sunk to nothing there, and the Iroquois hunts led to constant wars.

Colonel Romer was in the Onondaga country in October 1700, and has left us a curious map of his travels and the country.

His party came to Onondaga Sep. 26, by the old trail over the hills, and on horseback, and visited Onondaga lake and Seneca river. Three River Point did not suit him for a fort, a sound conclusion. On a high bank on Chittenango creek he found a good site, and this was used at a later day. His reception at Onondaga was not cordial; for the Albany people had made ready for his coming. In preparation for the fort, £500 were sent from England, as much more raised in New York, arms and tools were provided, but the fort was not built.

The coming of Maricourt, Bruyas and Joncaire was occasioned by the Iroquois embassy to Canada early in the year. They then condoled Frontenac's death and asked that Lamberville and Bruyas might return to them. Peace was arranged and a treaty signed at Montreal Sep. 8. There was a preliminary conference at Montreal July 18 with the Onondagas and Senecas, and on Sep. 3 the 19 Iroquois deputies brought back 13 French prisoners. At Onondaga Bruyas had profited by the tone of Bellomont's message, and Joncaire went to the Senecas, who liberated all their prisoners. Some would not return and but 10 came back.

The Iroquois had hardly returned from this peace conference before word came that the Ottawas had attacked their hunters, killing some and capturing others. At this council the Iroquois were so well received that the Hurons said "that fear made the French show more respect to their enemies than love did to their friends." There was reason for this, and Bellomont said:

I pretend to be able to demonstrate that if the Five Nations should at any time in conjunction with the Eastern Indians, and those that live within these plantations, revolt from the English to the French, they would in a short time drive us out of this Continent.

Their mode of warfare made them powerful, but he had trials in meeting them. Of a council in Albany he said:

It was the greatest fatigue I ever underwent in my whole life. I was shut up in a close chamber with 50 Sachems, who besides the stink of bears' grease, with which they plentifully dawb'd themselves, were either smoaking tobacco or drinking drams of rum.

Bellomont complained that Schuyler made himself popular by entertaining Aquendeeo (Atotarho?) alias Sadeganaktie, speaker of the Five Nations, and 25 others, for two months at the king's expense. In the notice of the chief's death that winter, he is called by the full Onondaga council name of Sakoghsinnakichte, equivalent to Sadeganaghtie, and his successor immediately took both his names, but is best known by the latter.

June 19, 1701, Maricourt came again to Kaneenda, the landing place at Onondaga lake and 8 miles from the town, to which he was escorted under the French flag. Bleecker and Schuyler were already there, but would have nothing to do with the French. Maricourt carried things with a high hand, and Dekanissora went to Kaneenda to arrange matters with him. Onondaga deputies had reached Montreal Mar. 2 with complaints against the western Indians, and Maricourt returned with them. He was surprised to find Englishmen there. Dekanissora allowed all the captives at Onondaga to return, but some had married there and would not go. It was the same elsewhere, but Joncaire brought some from the Cayugas and Senecas, being now resident agent with the latter. The Oneidas would give up no prisoners, but five at last went from Onondaga. Dekanissora said the French had 50 or 60 prisoners from the Iroquois last fall and they had none in return. He favored having a minister from and trade with those who would do the best by them. The Onondagas already had a reputation as "men of business."

After Bruyas brought back the French prisoners in 1700, Fathers Jacques de Lamberville, Julien Garnier and Le Vaillant were sent to the Onondagas and Senecas. Fathers d'Heu and De Mareuil followed, remaining till 1709, the former being resident there last of all.

A council was held at Montreal Aug. 4, 1701, at which all of the western nations were represented, with the Iroquois and French. In this the Iroquois promised neutrality between the French and English. Prisoners were restored, and a general peace was signed with great ceremonies, in a place specially prepared.

Governor Bellomont had died, and Lieutenant Governor Nanfan held a conference with the Five Nations at Albany July 10, 1701, when the first beaver land trust deed was given. This comprised the land north and northwest of Lake Ontario and Lake Erie, the latter being often called Sweege, the equivalent of Oswego. Both shores of this were included, and Nanfan described the tract as 800 miles long and 400 broad. It was designed to prevent French claims and was signed by 20 chiefs from all the nations. He told them they should not have allowed a French fort at Detroit. Most of this great tract was in Canada, and they said they had taken it from the Agaritkas or Hurons, 60 years before. There was a later trust deed of lands south of the lakes.

At a council in Philadelphia, Ap. 23, 1701, Ahookassongh was present and was called "the brother of the great Emperor of the Onondagas." William Penn had addressed a letter from London June 25, 1682, "To the Emperor of Canada," intending the same ruler. He said:

The Great God that made thee and me, and all the world, Incline our hearts to love, peace and Justice, that we may live friendly together, as becomes the workmanship of the great God. The King of England, who is a Great Prince, hath for Divers Reasons Granted to me a large Country in America, which, however, I am willing to Injoy upon friendly terms with thee. And this I will say, that the people who comes with me are a just, plain, and honest people, that neither make war upon others nor fear war from others, because they will be just. I have sett up a Society of Traders in my Province, to traffick with thee and thy people for your Commodities, that you may be furnished with that which is good at reasonable rates. And this Society hath ordered their President to treat with thee about a future Trade, and have joined with me to send their Messenger to thee, with certain Presents from us, to testify our Willingness to have a fair Correspondence with thee: And what this Agent shall do in our names we will agree unto. I hope thou wilt kindly Receive him, and Comply with his desires on our behalf, both with respect to Land and Trade. The Great God be with thee. Amen.

The coming of several French priests has been mentioned. The Onondagas were about equally divided on this, but Lamberville had a house and chapel there in 1702. Maricourt installed him

in these, and mass and a Te Deum were sung in the chapel before he left there that year. Lamberville was well received by all the Onondagas except Dekanissora's family, and of them there are conflicting accounts. Joncaire was adopted by the Senecas. That year also Garakontie' 2 died, ceasing only with his last breath his kindness to the French. His nephew took his place as French correspondent at Onondaga. Charlevoix said that the old chief "found more than once the means of defeating the intrigues of the English, and to him we were frequently indebted for safety in the most serious difficulties."

Lord Cornbury feared the loss of three of the Five Nations; and it was quite generally recognized that English missionaries among them had become a political necessity. In a council in 1702 the Iroquois chiefs sang a mournful song on the death of King William.

In 1704 the Iroquois again had trouble with the western Indians. The Ottawas had carried off 30 Senecas near Fort Frontenac and had treacherously attacked them elsewhere, being determined on war. By good fortune the commander at Detroit was able to restore the prisoners the Ottawas had made. M. de Maricourt had died, and his brother, Baron de Longueuil, succeeded him at Onondaga. Peter Schuyler sent belts to the Canadian Iroquois; but the French got hold of them and had them returned by the Onondagas without answer. That year some Iroquois chiefs were at a council in Pennsylvania, and questions of land and southern warfare brought them there with increasing frequency.

In 1706 Vaudreuil sent Joncaire to Michilimackinac to maintain the peace between the Ottawas and Iroquois, the safety of Canada depending on peace with the latter. The Ottawas promised to make reparation, and, though slow about it, at last did so.

An Indian showed a fine belt of 21 rows at Philadelphia in 1706, "which Belt, he said, was a pledge of peace formerly delvd. by the Onondagoe Indians, one of the 5 Nations to the Nantikokes, when they made the said Nantikokes tributaries." The Iroquois would soon receive this tribute, which had then

been paid for 26 years, or since 1680. The next year they took 20 belts and some strings to Onondaga.

The French again proposed to secure Niagara through Joncaire's influence with the Senecas. Of him it was said later, "He is daring, liberal, speaks the language in great perfection, hesitates not even whenever it is necessary to decide."

In spite of the French, the Indians would carry furs to the English, and their own men would desert. An Onondaga had killed a deserter in 1708 and claimed that the French said such men were already dead. They had to yield. That year an Englishman was for some months among the Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas. When he proposed a fort at Gaskonchiague', or Oswego Falls, and another at the head of Lake Thiroguen, or Oneida lake, they refused the first and referred the other to the Oneidas.

Father d' Heu also wrote, May 24, 1708, that two Onondagas had gone to the Gannaouans in Virginia, who had an ambuscade near Onondaga the year before. They carried several belts. The Onondagas were troubled over the pretended settlement of the Ottawas at Fort Frontenac and Niagara, and the French posts at Niagara and La Galette. In case of war all this would be to their disadvantage.

The English blacksmith had returned to Onondaga, but the French party concealed the anvil in the priest's house, eventually giving it up. They wanted a French smith, which he thought "would be very important for the good of religion and the French colony."

De Tonty was reported to have retained Indian presents while refusing their requests. This was contrary to their custom and displeased them. There were hints, also, that Joncaire made money by the use of his office and public presents. That year the Indian Montour family first came to notice. The father was a Frenchman who had a son and two daughters by an Indian wife, and they became prominent. In 1708 the son brought 12 of the Far Indians to trade at Albany; they had come 800 miles. There may have been several families of this name. Joncaire killed the original Montour in 1721 by Vaudreuil's order.

The New England people thought the Five Nations should help them against the French Indians; and, when two Mohawk spies returned from Canada in 1709, the governor advised them to go by the St Lawrence, as war parties were on Lake Champlain, and they might be killed. A large party had gone against New England; and Governor Vaudreuil had heard the hatchet was placed in the hands of the Five Nations, but he would let the English strike first. Then he could easily take Albany at any time.

Joncaire could not be everywhere; and, while he was with the Senecas, Abraham Schuyler sang the war song at Onondaga, giving the hatchet to the Indians. He induced Father Lamberville to go to Montreal to report, and then persuaded Father de Mareuil that his life was in danger and took him to Albany. Some Onondagas then pillaged and burned his house and chapel. Joncaire heard of this and thought it best to keep away, returning to his Seneca friends, where Father d'Heu then was.

Peter Schuyler had persuaded all but the Senecas to side with the English; but the Mohawks and Onondagas sent word to Canada that they did not really wish war, and 40 Senecas were well received at Montreal by Governor Vaudreuil.

Chapter 14

Tributary nations. Conestoga council. Indian chiefs in England. Interest in them. French fort at Onondaga. Iroquois at Albany. Mohawk fort and chapel. Delaware tribute. Peace of Utrecht. Tuscaroras adopted. French post at Irondequoit. Catawbas. Peace with the French. French post at Niagara. Hendrick restored. Governor Burnet. Pennsylvania lands. Boundary between Six Nations and Virginia Indians. English post at Irondequoit. Colonial conference at Albany. Far Indians at Albany. Conference with Massachusetts.

In 1709 the chiefs of the Mingoes, Ganawese and Delawares on the Susquehanna purposed going to Onondaga with their tribute, but the governor of Pennsylvania thought it a bad time, as he wished to employ the Five Nations against Canada. Many were already engaged by the English. These chiefs "had prepared for their journey Twenty four Belts of Wampum to be presented to

them as their Tribute." That year the governors of New York and Pennsylvania were to "contract with the five nations to make with all speed as many Canoes as may be wanted" for an expedition against Canada, and to engage as many warriors as possible.

An important council was attended by the governor of Pennsylvania in 1709, at Conestoga, some Seneca and Tuscarora chiefs being present. The Tuscaroras presented eight belts "as an Introduction, & in order to break off hostilities till next Spring, for then their Kings will come & sue for the peace they so much Desire." They were told they could come and would be protected if they lived peaceably. The Senecas thanked the white people for coming and said the belts would be sent to the Five Nations.

English forts were planned at Lake George and Crown Point, and some were built on Wood creek, at one of which 1600 men were assembled. Many bateaux and 100 birch canoes were provided, but on a French advance all were destroyed. During these fruitless efforts New York employed 600 Indians and maintained 1000 of their wives and children at Albany.

Colonel Schuyler had found England indifferent to the Indians, and now took some River Indians and Mohawks there to rouse some interest. It was a successful move. They had many and great attentions and were received at court, returning home in 1710. With them Queen Anne sent medals for all the Five Nations and promised better things.

De la Chauvignerie was sent to Onondaga in 1710 and was well received. July 17, De Longueuil and Joncaire made proposals there to the Onondagas and Oneidas, threatening to destroy them if they sided with the English. This led the former to ask an English fort in their land and that strong drink might be forbidden in their castles. It was destroying them.

An unimportant council was held at Albany; but Governor Hunter before this had arrested the Iroquois hatchet against the Flatheads, and the suspected Senecas had renewed the covenant, into which the Dowaganhaes, or Ottawas, had also entered.

De Longueuil, Joncaire and others were at Onondaga in April 1711, to build a trading house, bringing with them £600 in presents, mostly ammunition. Colonel Schuyler was sent there at once with six men. The Onondagas had given the French a lot in the midst of their castle, and they began work April 19. Schuyler reached there May 17; but De Longueuil had stopped work and gone to Kaneenda, at the lake. A council was held at once, and the Onondagas said the Minquas or Conestogas reported that the French and English had agreed to destroy them and take their land. The French said they would not but the English would, and advised them to be neutral and send messengers to Canada. Schuyler denied the story and gave them the British arms to set up, sending these also to the Cayugas and Senecas.

De Longueuil had 24 Frenchmen, with their officers, and had left the unfinished blockhouse in charge of a chief who was sent for. It was 24½ feet long by 18 feet wide, covered with boards and nailed. The Indians said Schuyler might leave or destroy the house, but they would first send word to the French at Kaneenda. He destroyed this and some lumber sawed for a chapel, which ended the trouble at this time.

In August some Hurons came to the Cayugas to know who had killed their men. The Senecas said they had not, but the others justified the killing, on which the Hurons said they would fight. On the 24th 500 Iroquois came to Albany and reported more coming. Marching down the hill, they were saluted with five guns as they passed the fort. The French paid them similar honors. In the council each nation sat by itself, and all agreed to help the colonists, being ready to join the troops who had already marched. Ammunition was freely supplied. Out of 682 Indians going to war 26 were Shawnees.

Dekanissora was speaker, and they wished the Praying Indians might be neutral. They would treat prisoners as Christians did and asked instructions. Lieutenant Governor Nanfan gave each nation pictures of the four Indians who had been in England. Queen Anne had ordered forts to be built and missionaries sent,

and had furnished silver communion sets for the Indians, one being now in Canada and the other in Albany. Contracts were made for building forts and chapels in the Mohawk and Onondaga country, to be finished in 1713. The fort at Onondaga was to be near the town and water, but it was not built, nor was their chapel, so that the articles intended for it always remained at Albany.

The Indians wished that the war kettle might continue to boil, i. e. the war continue. Dekanissora said they did not fight like the whites. "When we have war against any nation, Wee endeavor to destroy them utterly." The queen's arms in their castles would not defend them, they wanted powder and ball. Two Onondagas visited Canada; and Governor Vaudreuil sent word by them that he must now make prisoners. The Canadian Indians took the French hatchet gladly, and the western tribes with some hesitation.

The Delawares carried 32 belts to Onondaga as their tribute in 1712, and had with them a large calumet, given them "upon making their submissions to the Five Nations, who had subdued them and obliged them to be their tributaries." They said some of them were infants when this occurred, so that it could hardly have been earlier than 1650. After a kind reception some Senecas returned with them, bringing belts to the governor of Pennsylvania and asking friendship and open trade. At this time the Conestogas were at war with the Tuscaroras and other southern Indians, having taken the English side.

The Senecas were under French influence. As they went to Montreal that year, the Onondagas stopped them, inviting them to a general Iroquois council at Fort Frontenac. This proposal troubled the French; for it was not usual to treat there. Joncaire was at Onondaga; but Vaudreuil sent Longueuil and Chauvignerie there, as Peter Schuyler had been there twice and had brought Madame Montour and her husband, to remove jealousies created by the French. Before the Montours arrived in August, some of the Indians had gone to Albany, and in spite of the rest the Senecas would go to Montreal. The other four nations continued their meetings at Onondaga and had made

part of their war canoes. Indians from Virginia had been there; but Joncaire thought Schuyler would keep the Iroquois from western warfare, as this disturbed his fur trade.

The Senecas came to Montreal and said Dekanissora was singing the war song. Four of their nations would fight, but they wished no western war, as they always suffered most. Several reports came to Montreal in September, that the council still continued, and there would be war without Seneca aid. French messengers went to Michilimackinac and to the Illinois and Miamis to warn them of probable danger.

On the other hand, Governor Hunter said the Iroquois were quiet again, though it was reported that they aided the Tuscaroras. A good fort and chapel had been built for the Mohawks, where he had a missionary and 20 officers and men and he hoped much from this prudent measure.

The peace of Utrecht came in 1713 and the hatchet was taken from the Indians. Messrs Hansen, Bleecker and Clausen were sent to Onondaga in September, meeting Dekanissora on the way, who returned with them. Half a mile from Onondaga 150 Indians met and welcomed them, and on the 20th the sachems held a council, "and spoke with three strings of wampum in their loftiest style."

Four southern Indians came with belts, and the English were asked to mediate between those of Carolina and the Tuscaroras. The latter went out from the Onondagas and settled southward. They had been at war, were dispersed, had left their castles, and asked that they might not be hunted down. In a sudden outbreak in September 1711, they had killed 130 persons in one day, but lost many of their own people the same year. The southern Indians sided with the colonists, the strong Tuscarora fort of Naharuke was taken Mar. 26, 1713, and 800 prisoners were sold as slaves. On this they made peace, most of them going to New York. Their plea was heeded, and after the council the English mounted their horses, the Indians cheering as they left. The Onondaga fort was to be built as soon as possible.

A council was held with the Iroquois at Albany Sep. 20, 1714. They had heard the southern colonies intended cutting them off, which they would not believe were powder cheaper, but on this they had recalled a war party of 40 Senecas and 100 Onondagas. The governor denied the report, but would try to have powder cheaper, giving them handsome presents and beer to drink the queen's health. Dekanissora promised to send expresses to all the nations to tell them there was no truth in the report. They said the warriors were young men, and it would depend on them whether they buried the hatchet against the Flatheads. They had no good clothes to wear to church, and deferred the missionary question till goods were cheaper and they could go well dressed. The Senecas wished a smith at a hamlet between them and the Cayugas. The Tuscaroras now lived among them, though a few remained south, and Governor Hunter was to look on them as their children, who would live peaceably between Onondaga and Oneida. A tract had been assigned them in what is now Madison county.

In 1715 the French were still intriguing, and there were idle stories of an intended French fort at Onondaga. These troubled those in power only as it might affect trade, for the traders then cared more for private profit than the public good. Governor Hunter tried to have the Five Nations go against those Indians in Carolina who had attacked the English there, and said the friendly Indians on the Susquehanna had brought home 30 prisoners. He was not aware that the war was over.

At a council in Albany Aug. 27, 1715, Dekanissora returned the unfortunate hatchet given him against Canada, and they must never give so poor a one again. If used, it must be new steeled. They would close the southern warpath, though warriors were still out. Their story about southern troubles differed from that of the English, who had the Flatheads or Catawbas help them there against the Tuscaroras. The Catawbas were faithless and ought to be conquered themselves. They lamented the death of Queen Anne, and afterward sent messengers south.

De Longueuil was at Onondaga in 1716 and thought a fort

necessary at Niagara. Preliminary to this, a French trading house was built that year at Irondequoit, but the goods came from Albany by way of Montreal. Two wooden houses were also built at Albany for the use of the Indians. They were 100 yards behind the fort and each was 15 by 70 feet.

The Five Nations called the Catawbas Toderichroone, and said they were treacherous, for, after concluding peace in 1714, they immediately murdered some Iroquois, and war continued. In 1717 a party of 400 or 500 young Iroquois went as far as the Susquehanna on their way to Virginia. They were persuaded to turn westward, but soon resumed their course and attacked 140 Catawbas. The governor at last got Connaughtoora to hold a council at Williamsburg. He refused to make peace with the Catawbas on any terms, but would not harm the Christianna Indians. This war continued till part of the Catawbas were adopted.

Governor Vaudreuil held a council with the Senecas Oct. 24, 1717, having sent Joncaire to the Iroquois country in December 1716. They had attacked the Illinois and made some prisoners. Another band went toward the Mississippi but soon returned, having lost their captain and others by smallpox. The Senecas thought the war should be stopped. Some were suspicious of Joncaire, yet, when deputies came from all in September, the Onondaga speaker, after having bewailed the French king's death, asked Longueuil and his son, Joncaire and Chauvignerie to come to their villages freely, they having adopted the last two. They feared not to displease the English.

In 1718 the Iroquois were at peace with the French but at war with the Flatheads, and thought the English supplied them with arms. Governor Vaudreuil said he was not surprised. At that time the Senecas had a village at Niagara, earning a good deal as carriers at the portage. A fine cart road there was used several times a year.

When Dekanissora was at Albany July 6, 1719, he said the French were building a fort at Niagara, where they would keep horses and carts, but did it without leave. The house was 30

by 40 feet. The Senecas at first objected, but at last allowed it. They did not claim full jurisdiction at Niagara, as it was not theirs originally and was conquered by all. He would not take a belt to Onondaga, being in Albany only as a private person. At this time the French tried to have Madame Montour settle in Canada.

In May 1720 Myndert Schuyler and Robert Livingston jr went to the Senecas to desire them to bury the hatchet against all Indians allied to the English and to remonstrate against the Niagara fort. The Senecas said they would await the Far Indians who were said to be coming against them, and would send sachems with Lawrence Claese to forbid the fort at Niagara. The three Frenchmen there said they had leave from the young Seneca warriors and would not destroy the house without orders from Canada. The chiefs knew of no such leave. On his return Claese met a French smith, sent to Niagara to work for the Senecas gratis. Claese called the Seneca sachems together again and repeated his words before Joncaire, who made a retort.

Messengers came to Albany in August from all but the Senecas. Joncaire had been among them to keep them at home, telling them that, if the English destroyed this house, it would cost blood, and they believed him. The other nations thought it a damage. Dekanissora jr, a Cayuga chief, thought the English ells should be longer and their pounds heavier. If well provisioned for their home journey, the Christians' cattle would not suffer, but hunger was a sharp sword.

Hendrick, the Mohawk, having been suspended as a sachem four years before, was restored. He said the Indians could not live peaceably in their castles as long as rum was so plenty. He and Brandt had been to England some years before, as Mohawk kings.

Governor Burnet thought the Indian trade could be preserved by repairing the forts, building others at Niagara and Onondaga, and forbidding the carrying of Indian goods to Canada. The French claimed that the English had proposed settling at Niagara and taking horses there. This led to the French post, and Jon-

caire was sent as best qualified to prevent the building of the English house. The Indians, however, still traded at Albany, not finding good clothes at Niagara. In the early part of Governor Hunter's administration, the Palatines had come to New York; and he closed his term with a warning. If war should come with the Five Nations, "the best part of the province will certainly be ruined."

The Mission of the Mountain had been for nearly 20 years at the Sault au Recollect, near Montreal, but in 1720 it was removed to the Lake of the Two Mountains, at the end of the island. The Indians of this and Caughnawaga were hostile to New England, and there are yet descendants of their English prisoners there and at St Regis. Some went west, and a new Caughnawaga arose on the Muskingum.

By conquest much of Pennsylvania belonged to the Iroquois, and this claim they had before asserted, while assenting to some early acts. In 1720 the Six Nations, as they were now often called, were dissatisfied with the increasing settlements on the Susquehanna, to which the Cayugas made special claim. About 1700 Governor Penn had bought some of these lands of the Conestogas, and the Five Nations afterward assented to this. Another amicable settlement came later, but other claims led to many councils and much intercourse between Philadelphia and Onondaga. The usual route was by the Susquehanna.

In 1721 it was stated that De Longueuil had been adopted by the Onondagas, his family being also of that nation. Joncaire was an adopted Seneca, and so both were commonly in the Iroquois towns. Governor Burnet heard that the Senecas were growing cold toward them. That year Joncaire, Longueuil and Chauvignerie went to the Senecas, thanking them for their good will and asking them to go to Onondaga and call a council, to refuse the English passage if they came to destroy the fort. The Senecas were divided on this, the fort not being on their original land. June 20, John Durant, a French chaplain, met Joncaire at Oswego, returning from Onondaga. He said he had beaten the bush and De Longueuil would take the birds. Next day

Durant met the latter and Chauvignerie above Oswego Falls, and he said four nations had given him good words. These falls had the same Indian name as those on the Genesee river, and this has caused some confusion of places.

Governor Burnet held a council with the Six Nations, Sep. 7, 1721. The Virginia Indians had proposed that the Potomac river and the high mountains westward should be the dividing line for their hunting parties, neither passing beyond without permission. The Iroquois agreed to this boundary. The governor had been told that, since the Virginia belt came, some of the Iroquois had gone with French Indians against those of Virginia, a frequent practice.

This month, also, Peter Schuyler jr was sent to the Seneca country with a party of young men, who were willing to stay and trade there for a year. Their house was at Irondequoit, and they were not to trade with the Indians farther east but with any of those west. They were also to encourage the French *coureurs de bois* to bring their furs to the English, they being willing if protected.

Another council was held at Albany Aug. 27, 1722. The Iroquois had done as they agreed last year, sending messengers to the Far Indians to come and trade. Blew Bek, chief sachem of the Senecas, had been to Canada with others and was coming to Albany to tell what the French said. Three companies of their people had gone against the Flatheads. The governor of Virginia was present and promised that the 10 nations of Virginia should not pass the line, and the Iroquois promised the same for themselves, the Tuscaroras and for four nations on the Susquehanna. He gave them a golden horseshoe as a passport when they wished to send to him.

Governor Keith, of Pennsylvania, also conferred with them, and they called him Onas, meaning a pen. Two chiefs of each of the Five Nations and two of the Tuscaroras had a special conference with him Sep. 14. They freely surrendered to him the lands about Conestoga and renewed former treaties. He told the other governors that the Conestogas spoke the same language

as the Five Nations and paid them tribute. After this they no longer had their old names of Andastes or Minquas.

In this treaty the Iroquois addressed *"Brother Assarigoe,* the name of the governors of Virginia, which signifies a Simeter or Cutlas which was given to the Lord Howard, anno 1684, from the dutch word Hower, a Cutlas." Hence and from their cavalry the Virginians were termed Long Knives. The Potomac was called Kahongoronton by the Iroquois, and the Roanoke the Konentcheneke. The five nations controlled by the Iroquois on the Susquehanna were the Tuscaroras, Conestogas, Shawnees, Oquagas, who were partly Mohawks, and the Ostanghaes, who were Delawares. Some southern Indians afterward came to New York.

This Albany council was the first in which the Tuscaroras shared as part of the Iroquois league; and at the end, "the speaker of the Five Nations, holding up the coronet, they gave six shouts, five for the Five Nations, and one for a castle of Tuscaroras, lately seated between Oneida and Onondaga."

The Conestogas said the Five Nations, as a body, had no title to the Susquehanna lands, and that four of them claimed none, but that the Cayugas made a continual claim, and the matter should be settled. Some Cayugas went to Pennsylvania in 1723 to hold a council on this matter, but this had usually been done by the Onondagas, "their best gentlemen." The Five Nations had placed the Shawnees on the Susquehanna, and now told them they did not well to settle at Shallyschoking.

Some chiefs of the Six Nations and Schaghticokes went to Boston in 1723, and were well received. A piece of engraved plate was given each one, and £100 were promised for scalps.

Aug. 29 a conference was held at Albany with 80 Far Indians called Nicariages, who came there to open trade. They spoke by their chief Sakena and desired to be the seventh nation of the Iroquois, but this never took effect. They gave a calumet, which "is esteemed very valuable, and is the greatest token of peace and friendship." Some more came in 1724, whom the French tried to turn aside on Lake Ontario, but they said they were free and would go where they pleased.

The Canada Indians promised not to war on Massachusetts, and the Five Nations threatened to compel the eastern Indians to be quiet. The English captured 40 Abenaquis and placed them among the Iroquois, and the latter sent two of them, under guard, to treat for peace. The Abenaquis were away, and the messengers left suitable tokens, but there were misunderstandings and hostilities increased. Father Rasle was soon after killed, and the Iroquois promised not to make war on the Abenaquis, who greatly feared them. Governor Vaudreuil then sent Joncaire to winter among the Senecas and proposed sending De Longueuil to Onondaga. He now forbade the connection of trading posts with missions.

The Six Nations tried to make peace between the Canadian Indians and New England, but the former refused. On this question they conferred with the governor of Massachusetts at Albany in September 1724. At the same time they held a council with Governor Burnet. He had kept a smith and some young men in the Seneca country for two years and heard they had a good house. He found others willing to live among the Onondagas, and would build a house at the mouth of their river. This led to a fuller examination of Wood creek and the Oneida carrying place.

Chapter 15

Fort at Oswego. Trust deed of residence land. Shikellimy viceroy in Pennsylvania. French at Onondaga. French fort at Crown Point. Pennsylvania and the Six Nations. Their council. Weiser and Shikellimy. Council at Stenton. Iroquois claims. Their numbers. Albany council. French claims in New York. War against Southern Indians. Joncaires. Blacksmiths.

The lucid papers of Cadwallader Colden, in 1724, helped the founding of Oswego, a situation which Governor Burnet preferred to Oneida lake. Dekanissora was still speaker and was to advise with Burnet on all matters of importance.

In 1725 the Iroquois of the Sault and of the Two Mountains sent word to the Six Nations that, if they allowed an English fort at Oswego, they would make war on them, but thought better of this. The English started their expedition in March, but

the post had not been established May 9, the Senecas opposing it. De Longueuil expected a conference at the Bay of the Cayugas. He met 100 Englishmen at Oswego Falls, who made him show his pass, on which he told the Iroquois chiefs they were no longer masters of their own country. The Five Nations awaited him at Onondaga, consenting to the erection of a stone house at Niagara and the building of two barks on Lake Ontario. He met more than 100 canoes going to the English to trade and heard that they had posts on the Wabash. The Onondagas told him they had agreed to the English going to Gaskonchiague', or Oswego Falls, 6 leagues from the lake. Some rules were made about trading there, but these were soon transferred to Oswego.

Governor Burnet held another conference with the Six Nations at Albany Sep. 7, 1726. They said the Senecas last year sent them a belt, that, if De Longueuil wished to make a settlement at Niagara, Oswego, or elsewhere on their lands, it should be refused. De Longueuil said that his bark house was decayed and made so many fair speeches that the Onondagas gave their consent, but had repented, blaming no one but themselves. The land belonged to the Senecas. One nation often acted in the name of the rest, but its action was void unless the others consented. The Six Nations had notified the French that they must not build at Niagara. They now came howling to Governor Burnet because of their encroachments.

Sep. 14 the Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas confirmed the Beaver Land deed, and also signed another trust deed of their residence lands on the south side of Lakes Erie and Ontario, 60 miles inland. The Mohawks and Oneidas having no land on these, their signatures were not required. The tract began at "a Creek called Canahogue on the Lake Osweego, (Erie) all along the said lake and all along the narrow passage from the said Lake to the Falls of Oniagara Call'd Cahaquaraghe and all along the River of Oniagara and all along the Lake Cadaracqui (Ontario) to the Creek Called Sodoms belonging to the Senekes and from Sodoms to the hill Called Tegerhunkserode

Belonging to the Cayouges, and from Tegerhunckseroda to the Creek Called Cayhunghage (Salmon river) Belonging to the Onnondages."

Sadegeenaghtie, who signed the first deed, signed this also.

Governor Burnet got £300 from New York for building a fort at Oswego and commenced it in the spring of 1727. Being advised that the French might interfere, he sent 60 soldiers, there being already 200 traders there, besides workmen. The permanent garrison would be an officer and 20 men. The stone walls were 4 feet thick, and it was finished in August. The French sent a summons to have it destroyed and abandoned within 15 days, but the matter was referred to the two crowns. The regulations there about Indian trade were good and strict.

In 1726 the Iroquois made some trouble in the south, and the next year there was a conference at Philadelphia, attended mostly by Cayugas, who talked of their Susquehanna lands and offered to sell. The Shawnees and Delawares were told that the Five Nations would put petticoats on them and look on them as women. They had been so called years before, but in a less decided way.

In 1728 the Oneida chief Ungquaterughiathe, or Swatana, better known by his Delaware name of Shikellimy, was sent to Pennsylvania to reside there as a kind of viceroy over all the Indians on the Susquehanna in that province. He was the father of the celebrated Logan; but having married a Cayuga, his children were all of that nation. In virtue of his office he represented the Iroquois in a Pennsylvania council in 1728, but took no part. The celebrated Madame Montour was an interpreter at that time, being then the wife, but soon the widow of Robert Hunter, or Carundowana, another Oneida chief. Her first husband was a Seneca named Roland Montour. She was then called "a French woman, who had lived long among these People," and was always represented as of unmixed blood. That year she told an alarming story, which came from her sister, married and living among the Miamis, that the Five Nations had asked the Miamis to take the hatchet against the English.

Governor Montgomerie succeeded Governor Burnet Ap. 15, 1728, and had a conference with the Iroquois on the rum question. It might be sold but not brought to their towns.

That year Chauvignerie went on an embassy to Onondaga, then in Onondaga valley. The sachems met him on the lake three leagues from Oswego, and told him he must fire the first salute and lower his flag when he passed the fort. He refused and asked whose land it was. The Onondagas said it belonged to them. He landed, pitched his tent, but refused to enter the fort or to strike his flag, which he kept up night and day while he stayed. No salutes were exchanged, and he would not allow an Onondaga to carry the British flag over his canoe. Half a league from Onondaga the chiefs met him, and he marched in under the French flag, placing it over Ononwaragon's cabin. He employed chiefs to bewail that chief's death, that of his nephew and of the Onondagas generally.

To counteract the effect of the Oswego post, the French voyageurs were ordered to take the north shore of the lake, and it was desirable to have a post at the Bay of the Cayugas, 8 or 9 leagues west of Oswego.

In 1728 the Council at Philadelphia thought "that as the Five Nations have an absolute Authority over all our Indians, and may command them as they please, it is of great importance to Remove any Impressions that have been made upon them to the prejudice of the English, and that by all means 'tis necessary they should be spoken with."

It was noted that Shikellimy had been appointed by the Five Nations to reside among the Shawnees. At a conference in Philadelphia Oct. 10, the old Delaware chief, Sassoonan, said:

The Five Nations had often told them that they were as Women only, & desired them to plant Corn & mind their own private Business, for that they would take Care of what related to Peace & War, & that therefore they have ever had good & peaceable Thoughts towards us.

In 1730 Joncaire told the Senecas that he had been expelled from the French service and asked leave to build a trading house of his own at Irondequoit bay. Instructions against this were

sent to Messrs Wendell, Hartsen and others, then in the Seneca country. At the same time the Fox Indians sent two red stone axes to the young Senecas, which Joncaire forwarded to Canada, saying they were a request that the Foxes might live with them.

In the spring of the same year Jacob Brower, a trader, was murdered at Oswego Falls. The Indians made satisfaction and testified that he was duly interred.

In the fall Governor de Beauharnois, hearing that the English were going to Lake Champlain to trade, sent men to drive them off, but they found no one there. In 1731 he proposed building a fort at Crown Point, where the English built and abandoned one in 1709. The English had already placed farmers among the Mohawks and Oneidas, and had a good road from the Mohawk river to Oneida lake. It was thought there would soon be a town at Oswego.

Fort St Frederick was built at Crown Point. Joncaire was employed among the Senecas, but was sent to the Shawnees on the Ohio. About this time Iroquois parties were out against the Foxes in Wisconsin.

Iroquois relations with Pennsylvania increased in importance, and in August Governor Keith said there was an opportunity "of sending a Message to the Six (formerly called the Five) Nations by Shekellamy, who is willing to undertake it, & is a truly good Man & a great Lover of the English." A present and an invitation to visit Philadelphia were sent. In December he returned from the Senecas, to whom a covenant belt was delivered at a council. Conrad Weiser was now official interpreter for the province, and gave warning that there would be trouble with the Six Nations if the liquor trade were not better regulated. He had been adopted by the Mohawks and spoke their language.

The Seneca, Oneida and Cayuga chiefs came to Philadelphia in August 1732, and ordered the Shawnees to return east, having absolute power over them. They were coming too much under French influence and refused to obey, killing some Iroquois. The offenders fled, and the Iroquois were afterward pacified with

presents. They had allowed the Shawnees to come to Pennsylvania about 1691. The Six Nations had just made an alliance with the Miamis and three other western nations, and had also forbidden a French trading house on the Ohio. Joncaire was again sent to the Senecas, and French medals would be given to the chiefs. That year Conrad Weiser and Shikellimy were appointed agents between the Six Nations and Pennsylvania.

In 1733 David A. Schuyler was appointed commissioner at Oswego, as understanding Indian trade and language, and Philip Schuyler was sent to the Senecas, with £410 in presents, to secure their friendship. In September there was a conference between Governor Cosby and the Six Nations. A Cayuga chief had been killed at Oswego Falls. By the white man's law the murderer should die, but among Indians the offense might be reconciled and forgiven, which they prayed might be done. The Far Indians were treacherous and had killed some Oneidas while feasting them, just after a treaty of peace. The Shawnees still favored the French in spite of Iroquois advice. For the better security of the Mohawks, the flats at Fort Hunter were conveyed to the king, Nov. 4.

June 18, Shikellimy came to Philadelphia to tell some bad news, and mentioned Margaret, a daughter of Madame Montour. He brought complaints and was sent to investigate reports.

In the informal conference at Philadelphia, in September 1734, there were 13 Oneidas present and seven Onondagas. Carundowana, husband of Madame Montour, had been killed by the Catawbas. A little later, Hetequantagechty thought a false story was "owing to a certain Woman, whose old Age protects her from being punished for such Falsehoods; that in the meantime they must resent it and hope to get rid of her." The Shawnees had said they would go still farther away, and some of the Iroquois chiefs had gone to speak with them. Five Onondagas were at a conference in Philadelphia that year. In October Governor de Beauharnois had messages from the Onondagas to clear up some matters.

Several Iroquois chiefs went to the Shawnees in 1735, to per-

suade them to return to Pennsylvania. Their speaker was Sagohandechty, a Seneca chief of high reputation, who spoke in a way resented by the Shawnees, and he was killed by them after the other deputies had returned.

A council with the Six Nations, held at Stenton near Philadelphia in 1736, was largely attended, because at this time the Onondaga council had resolved to settle the Susquehanna land question. On account of smallpox in Philadelphia, the conference was held at the governor's house at Stenton. There were 100 Iroquois present, 18 being chiefs. Pennsylvania had purchased lands of the Delawares; but Governor Dongan had a deed of trust from the Iroquois, whose claims were allowed, and they were paid accordingly. When the leading chiefs were gone, some drunken chiefs deeded the lands on the Delaware to the whites. Presents to the Iroquois were increased and those to the Delawares diminished, which the latter did not like. Weiser and Shikellimy were now agents for both Iroquois and whites:

> Whose Bodies, the Indians said were to be equally divided between them & us, we are to have one-half & they the other; that they had found Conrad faithfull and honest; that he is a true good Man, & had spoke their Words & our Words, and not his own; and the Indians having presented him with a drest Skin to make him Shoes, and two deer Skins to keep him warm, they said as they had thus taken Care of our friend, they must recommend theirs (Shekallamy) to our notice.

The Iroquois now claimed lands in Virginia and Maryland, and Pennsylvania supported them. The Shawnees were dissatisfied with the land sales of this year, turned to the French, and refused to come back to the Susquehanna, where they had asked permission to live 45 years before.

The fur trade at Niagara and Frontenac had greatly diminished because the French were not allowed to sell brandy. Some voyageurs were seized and fined by them that year for taking furs toward Oswego for better prices. They did as they pleased.

An interesting report was made in 1736 on the New York and Canadian Iroquois, as well as other nations. It is attributed to Joncaire, but more reasonably to Chauvignerie, and its moderate

estimates are in marked contrast with the larger ones of others. At Montreal he distinguished between the Iroquois and others there. Of the former there were 366 warriors, and at Toniata there were 10 more. In New York the Onondagas had 200 warriors, the Mohawks 80, the Oneidas 100, the Cayugas 120, the Senecas 350, and the Tuscaroras 250. There were a few Iroquois at Niagara, and he did not report those in Pennsylvania and Ohio.

There was continual trouble between the Iroquois and the southern and western Indians, and Weiser and Shikellimy were sent to Onondaga about this in February 1737, arriving there in April. Weiser nearly perished on the way. The governor of Virginia wanted the Iroquois chiefs to come to Williamsburg and there treat of peace with the Catawbas and Cherokees, but they refused, yet agreed to a year's truce. Weiser returned in the spring. Parties were out, ignorant of the truce, and the Iroquois killed three Catawba hunters and some horses. Since April eight others had been killed, and the Catawbas said these ought to be avenged before peace was made. The Cherokees had met an Iroquois party and sent peace deputies. The Iroquois were advised to make peace with both.

Lieutenant Governor Clarke had a conference at Albany with the Six Nations in June 1737. After condoling some deaths, according to custom, they said Clarke spoke roughly to them and they would answer in the same way. He had reproved them for letting the French come to Irondequoit; how came they at Crown Point, which was English land? The English had heard that the Senecas and Cayugas had sold their Susquehanna lands, on which the Shawnees lived, and they might go to Detroit, which the English did not like. They replied that they had sold but a small piece, a great way from the Shawnees. The trouble was between them and Pennsylvania, but they would try to prevent their removal.

On the general question of Susquehanna lands, Canassatego had once said that the Susquehannas had a right to sell their lands till they were conquered in 1677. Their title then ceased.

At this council the chiefs said the New York colony was like a great ship moored to an elmtree. Because the tree was perishable, the anchor was carried behind the great hill at Onondaga, where they would always care for it. This figure was often used. They refused to sell land south of Lake Ontario, for, wherever the whites settled, the deer and beaver disappeared. Irondequoit was in the Seneca country, and they could not sell other men's lands.

In 1738 Clarke had prevented the establishment of a French post, and had sent an interpreter, a smith and three others to live with the Senecas. In the south the Iroquois had attacked the Catawbas east of the mountains.

In 1739 Indians brought word that 30 boats, with 120 Frenchmen, were going from Crown Point to Wood creek to form a settlement there. They now claimed all land to the sources of streams tributary to the St Lawrence, but would give a deed of gift to the Mohawks of the land from Crown Point to the portage as a hunting ground. The claim was that of conquest.

In July a party of French and Indians went to attack the Cherokees and others in Carolina and Georgia. The Iroquois chiefs were unable to keep some young Mohawks from joining them, and others favored these parties. The French Indians often passed through New York on these southern forays, marking their camps with pictures and crosses. The Iroquois said they would not make peace with the Catawbas and Cherokees till they asked for it.

Lieutenant Governor Clarke held a council with the Six Nations Aug. 16, 1740, smallpox having prevented the annual council the year before. He admitted all nations under English protection into the covenant chain, both southward and westward as far as the Mississippi, and had heard of an Onondaga embassy to the French the last summer. They said they had been there for the advantage of all. The belt given to bind them to the southern Indians was accepted and would be kept at Onondaga. The hatchet against Spain was refused, as they were not a people to cross the sea, and the Flatheads must ask for peace.

They also addressed the French in September, saying they did not know why their people were then at Albany. They mourned Joncaire's death, replanting the tree of peace and asking the return of his son. The older Joncaire told Charlevoix of the oil springs in 1721, and both of his sons became influential with the Indians. They also wanted the blacksmith back again, having retained the whole forge for him. Laforge was invited and permitted to spend a year with his friends at Onondaga. That year the famous Abbé François Picquet built a strong fort at the Mission of the Two Mountains.

The Senecas sent a message in August 1741 to Governor de Beauharnois, whom they called Skenon, or Peace, saying they were famished, but wanted the blacksmith back, should any of them remain alive. Laforge, the blacksmith, could not come till the next year. His wife was reared among the Onondagas, and they wanted her there. In fact, the French smith left the Senecas because they gave all their work to the English smith, and he feared dying of hunger, not earning enough to buy an ear of corn. The New York Iroquois wished simply to trade at the best markets and that no coercion should be used either at Niagara or Oswego. At this time Beauharnois raised or installed some Canadian Iroquois chiefs.

Chapter 16

Land bought at Irondequoit. Six Nations. Catawbas and Cherokees at peace. Canassatego and the Delawares. Zinzendorf. Bartram's journey. Lancaster council. Black Prince. Name for Maryland. Catawbas. Moravians at Onondaga. Six Nations dissatisfied. Scalp bounties. Colonel Johnson. Oquaga Indians. Mississagas. Young Indians desire war. Johnson at Onondaga. Treaties at Lancaster and Logstown.

Notwithstanding French opposition, Clarke got a deed of the land at Irondequoit from the Seneca chiefs by means of those sent as usual to live in their country. They were ordered to go around the land with the chiefs and mark the trees, that it might be known what was English land, the tract being 30 miles square. The deed was signed by three Seneca sachems, the consideration being £100 and "sundry good causes."

He persuaded the Assembly to fortify Oswego and to give £100 to feed the Indians, who were in great want from the length and severity of the winter. He also effected a treaty of peace between the Six Nations and the Caughnawagas, or Praying Indians, at Montreal.

The Cherokees and Catawbas of Carolina gladly accepted the peace offered by the Six Nations. The former sent them some beads, a pipe, an eagle's tail, and a white flag they had taken from the French. The Catawbas sent a belt of wampum and calumet, with some tobacco, as tokens of acceptance. The Iroquois belt would be kept in one of the Cherokee towns. The Creeks also desired a treaty of peace. Some Cayugas came to Philadelphia about payment for lands, but no council was held, as no others came.

Clarke held a council with the Six Nations in June 1742. He was sorry they had forgotten their old way of living in castles, but some had promised to rebuild them and be no longer scattered. A Cherokee deputy had been to the Senecas, and the way was now clear. The nations to be included in the southern covenant were the Catawbas, Cherokees, Creeks, Chickasaws and Choctaws. He did not think a settlement at Irondequoit expedient yet, as people feared a French war.

The Onondagas and Senecas went to see Governor de Beauharnois in July 1742, and Onowaragon, a great Onondaga sachem, spoke. The Senecas also asked that Laforge's son might be their smith and forbidden to be rude. Privately they said the Onondagas, on their way home, took down the French flag when they came near Oswego and raised the English. The Senecas had minds of their own, carrying the French flag in spite of the English, but used it so much that it was worn out, and they wanted another.

Beauharnois said that young Joncaire might still live with the Senecas and young Laforge might be their smith. They had done well with the flag and he would have reproved the Onondagas had he known this sooner.

The Senecas still sent parties against the Catawbas or Flatheads. The Shawnees proposed moving to the prairie of the Maskoutins, but this was the wish of the French, and the Iroquois must not be displeased. An exaggerated account of a collision between the latter and the Virginians reached Beauharnois, and he tried to cause a rupture by means of this. The Onondagas did not respond or accept his presents, and his attempt failed. In this skirmish some were killed, and there were long deliberations on it.

There was a great council in Philadelphia that year; and, while the Iroquois were hospitably received, the Delawares were notified that they might attend, but at their own expense. The Onondaga Canassatego was speaker and spoke thus of Weiser, or Tarachawagon:

When we adopted him we divided him into two equal Parts; one we kept for ourselves, and one we left for You. He has had a great Deal of Trouble with Us, wore out his Shoes in our Messages, and dirty'd his Clothes by living amongst Us, so that he is as nasty as an Indian.

They gave him a present with which to buy new clothes and asked the governor to be equally generous. The Senecas did not come to this council because of the famine among them. One man, it was said, had killed and eaten his own children. They thought the goods received for the lands insufficient. Canassatego said:

We therefore desire, if you have the Keys of the Proprietor's Chest, you will open it, and take out a little more for us. We know our Lands are now become more valuable; the white People think we don't know their Value, but we are sensible that Land is Everlasting, and the few Goods we receive for it are soon Worn out and Gone.

The chief had examined the Delaware deeds, given 50 years before, and said the Delawares ought to be taken by the head and shaken severely. Onas was right, and he said to them: "How came you to take upon you to sell land at all? We conquer'd You, we made Women of you, you know you are Women, and can no more sell Land than Women." After other reproofs

he passed sentence. They might live either at Shamokin or Wyoming, "and then we shall have you more under our Eye, and shall see how You behave. Don't deliberate, but remove away, and take this Belt of Wampum." He summed up as follows and dismissed them:

This String of Wampum serves to forbid You, Your Children and Grand Children, to the latest Posterity, from ever meddling in Land Affairs, neither you nor any who shall descend from You, are ever hereafter to presume to sell any Land, for which Purpose you are to Preserve this string in Memory of what your Uncles have this Day given You in Charge. We have some other Business to transact with our Brethren, and therefore depart the Council and consider what has been said to you.

The Delawares left the council as ordered, and it soon concluded. Weiser conducted the large Iroquois delegation to his house in Tulpehocken, where Count Zinzendorf had an interesting meeting with the chiefs. He was much impressed by them and received a string of wampum inviting him to Onondaga.

There was a good deal of negotiation about the encounter in Virginia, but at last all was ready for a final settlement. Shikellimy and Saghsidowa were sent to Onondaga in April 1743 and were told that a way there had been cleared for the former and Weiser. One of those killed was a cousin of Shikellimy and he was condoled. The Six Nations sent a message about the Juniata lands, but none to the governor of Virginia, because he had not washed off the blood and taken the hatchet out of their head. If he would do this, they would talk to him. He readily consented if Weiser would do what was necessary. The deputies set out in company with John Bartram, the naturalist, and Lewis Evans, the geographer, reaching Onondaga July 21. Both Bartram and Weiser wrote full accounts, according to their personal tastes, and Evans made a map of the route. The trip was highly satisfactory, and arrangements were made for another council at Lancaster Pa. Tochanuntie, or the Black Prince, and Canassatego were prominent in these affairs.

That year it was reported from Detroit that 600 Senecas, Onondagas and other Iroquois had settled at the mouth of White river and were friendly to the French.

War was declared in 1744, and Virginia and Maryland were therefore very conciliatory, so that the Lancaster council was a great occasion. Witham Marshe gave a full and picturesque account. The Iroquois party numbered 252, Canassatego marching at the head.

They placed their cabins according to the rank each nation of them holds in their grand council. The *Onondagoes* nation was placed on the right hand and upper end, then the others according to their several dignities.

Madame Montour was there, and Marshe gave good descriptions of Canassatego and the Black Prince:

Canassatego was a tall, well-made man; had a very full chest, and brawny limbs. He had a manly countenance, mixt with a good-natured smile. He was about 60 years of age; very active, strong, and had a surprising liveliness in his speech, which I observed in the discourse between him, Mr Weiser and some of the sachems. Tachanuntie, another sachem, a chief of the same nation, was a tall, thin man; old, and not so well featured as Canassatego. I believe he may be near the same age with him. He is one of the greatest warriors that ever the Five Nations produced, and has been a great war-captain for many years past. He is also called the Black Prince.

By invitation of the Maryland commissioner, 24 chiefs dined with the principal white men present, occupying two tables out of five. "They fed lustily, drank heartily, and were very greasy before they finished their dinner, for, by the bye, they made no use of their forks."

The Cayuga chief, Gachradodon, gave a new name to Maryland, which was Tocaryhogon, Occupying the Middle or Honorable Place. He was praised by the governor, who said he would have made a good figure in the forum of ancient Rome, and a commissioner declared he never had seen so just an action in the great orators he had heard. Notwithstanding the good cheer, when it came to signing the treaty, they "were obliged to put about the glass pretty briskly," nor did all sign at once. Their right to the Virginia lands being challenged, Tochanuntie answered:

We have the Right of Conquest—a Right too dearly Purchas'd, and which cost us too much Blood to give up without any Reason

at all. . . All the World Knows we conquered the Several Nations living on Sasquehannah, Cohongoronton and on the Back of the Great Mountains in Virginia. The Conoy-uch-such-roona, Coch-nan-was-roona, Tokoa-irough-roona, and Con-nut-skirrough-roonaw, feel the effects of Our Conquests, being now a Part of our Nations, and their Lands at our Disposal.

Neither Maryland nor Virginia admitted their rights, but both satisfied them, and presents and deeds were exchanged. The shrewd Iroquois went home feeling their power. There were strong French and English parties among them; and, if they could remain neutral, both French and English would pay well for it. A projected treaty with the Catawbas was placed in Weiser's hands, and it was recommended that he should go to Onondaga.

In 1744 Governor de Beauharnois heard that the English were about to settle on Wood creek, and that they had sent an alarm to the Iroquois. Four villages of the Canadian Mahicans, or Loups, had gone to the Senecas, and Joncaire would report what it meant. He was called Nitachinon, and much was expected from his influence. The Iroquois warned him to pass Oswego only at night, for the English had orders to take him, dead or alive.

Governor Clinton had an Indian council, June 18, 1744. War had been declared, and troops and cannon sent to Oswego. The Iroquois would be ready, but would not strike the first blow or seize the French among them. They thought this wrong.

Jan. 2, 1745, Weiser's son said he had been to Virginia and met some Iroquois coming from the Catawba war. "One of Shickelmy's Sons, to wit, Unhappy Jake, had been killed by the Catawbas, with five more of the Six Nations." The chief was condoled, and Weiser was willing to go to Onondaga about this, but doubted Catawba sincerity. He said:

The Catawbaws are known to be a very Broud people, and have at several treatys they had with the Cherokees used high Expressions, and thought themself stout warriors for having deceived Garontowano (the Captain of the Company that was so treacherously killed) . . . If that one article is true with

them, that they will own they treacherously murdered Garontowano and some of his men, a peace no doubt will be made between these poor wretches.

A peculiar party went to Onondaga in May 1745. On behalf of Pennsylvania went Conrad Weiser, Andrew Montour the half-breed, and Shikellimy and his son. Three Moravians also went: Spangenberg, Zeisberger and Schebosch. These desired to arrange for settling some Indians on the Susquehanna. They were on horseback, and the route was essentially that of Bartram in 1743; up the Susquehanna to Owego, and then across Tioga, Tompkins and Cortland counties to Onondaga, leaving Weiser's May 19 and reaching Onondaga June 6. The Six Nations were invited to a council at Williamsburg Va., but said it was too far. They would go to Philadelphia about the Catawba peace. Both embassies were successful, but in neither account is there any allusion to the business of the other. From this first Moravian visit came others, but no direct missionary work was done. The sole efforts were preparatory, in learning the language and gaining the confidence of the Iroquois. Not a sermon was preached, not a public service held.

Early in 1745 the French made the Six Nations believe that the English meant to destroy them, and the Mohawks and Senecas combined, but were undeceived before the English quite lost their friendship. Indian enthusiasm waned. Governor Clinton held a council Oct. 5, and found that Joncaire had started the evil reports. Hendrick made a tiresome speech and there were land troubles again. Governor Clinton asked them to take up arms for the English, by a large belt, and they said they would if the French did not make satisfaction in two months.

The Indians were tempted by an offer of £10 for male scalps, but did not give way, and the historian, William Smith, said of the Albany council:

Although this conference was held in a style of dignity and solemnity which has seldom if ever before been witnessed; although men of the first talents and respectability, from four different colonies, had united their influence and exerted their

eloquence in persuading these savages to take part in the war, yet the characteristic cunning of that people was proof against all these arts.

Three white men wintered at Onondaga about this time, and a fatal epidemic troubled the Senecas. The Abbé Picquet and his warriors were at the attack on Fort Saratoga, which was destroyed in November.

Governor de Beauharnois held a council with the Iroquois in July and was told that they carried the French flag past Oswego on their return and would remain neutral. It was hard for all to do this, with their opportunities, for the regular offer was £10 for scalps of males over 16 years old, £5 for those under that, and double these rates for prisoners. So some went to war, and the Mississagas joined the Six Nations in this.

During the war, in 1746, the French Indians often came near and even into Albany. Pennsylvania and Connecticut refused to help procure Iroquois aid. All was gloomy, but a new light appeared. William Johnson had been made colonel of the Mohawks and made himself felt. Colden said of him:

Mr William Johnson was indefatigable among the Mohawks; he dressed himself after the Indian Manner, and made frequent Dances, according to their Custom when they excite to War, and used all the Means he could think of, at a considerable Expence. . . in order to engage them heartily in the War against Canada.

Some of the chiefs would not join, as the war was not in their interests, and the other nations agreed with them. The young Mohawks favored war. Governor Clinton called a council in August, and the difference of opinion was curiously marked. Colden said:

These Disputes, however, continued so far, that the Mohawks, and the other Five Nations, could not go in Company to Albany; the Mohawks marched on one side of the River, while the other Nations went on the other side. [There are two Roads from the Mohawks Castle to Schenectada, one on each side of the Mohawk River.] When the Indians came near the Town of Albany, on the 8th of August, Mr Johnson put himself at the Head of the Mohawks, dressed and painted after the Manner of an Indian War-Captain; and the Indians who followed him, were likewise

dressed and painted, as is usual with them when they set out in War. The Indians saluted the Governor as they passed the Fort, by a running fire; which his Excellency ordered to be answered by a Discharge of some Cannon from the Fort.

Through Johnson's influence the Mississagas and Six Nations threw down the war belt and declared war against the French at this council, in which Massachusetts united with New York. Colden presided. The official interpreter was ill, and it was thought best to have a chief give the address to the Indians. In the choice a modern division appears:

At first a Mohawk Sachem was pitched upon; but the Sachems themselves told us, That for some time past a kind of Party-Division among the Six Nations had subsisted: That the Mohawks, Onondages, and Senekas form'd one Party; and the Oneydoes, Tuscaroras, and Cayugas, the other: That, as the Mohawks might be suspected to be more partial to the English, it would be of more Use to employ one of the other Party; and an Oneydo Sachem was proposed for that Purpose.

Colden, who made the above note, saw the war dance at this time, and thus described it:

They were painted as when they go to War. The Dance is a slow and solemn Motion, accompanied with a pathetick Song. The Indians in their Turns perform this singly, but it is not easy to describe the Particularities of it.

Sep. 26 the Oquaga Indians marched in in single file, firing as they passed the fort and receiving a salute from the cannon. They said they would go to the war, but were late in getting the summons. It was reported that Weiser would bring some from the Susquehanna, but no others came. At this time the Mississagas were called a seventh nation, living north of Lake Erie, but nothing came of this.

Smallpox was quite fatal, and this stopped some of Johnson's parties:

While he was pressing them to this Purpose, one of the Sachems who had promised to head a Party from the Canajohary Castle, said, You seem to think that we are Brutes, that we have no Sense of the Loss of our dearest Relations, and some of them the bravest Men we had in our Nation: You must allow us Time to bewail our Misfortune.

Many of the Canadian Iroquois went against the English, and the governor held a council with 34 New York Iroquois June 30, 1746.

In 1747 an Indian party under Walter Butler, killed some French near Crown Point, but had time to take only six of their scalps. Other parties, in Canada and elsewhere, brought in scalps and prisoners. The Six Nations promised Johnson to get out all the men they could against the French. Besides two bands containing 119 men, he had seven other parties out. He desired a law against selling liquor to the Mohawks, and spoke of two "grand villains" who were nuisances in this way.

Governor Clinton talked with some Mohawks in July. They had been scouting and wished their brethren fortified at Canajoharie. He gave Johnson orders for this. The latter had a talk with some Oquaga Indians and hoped to stop the war with the Flatheads. The Tionontaties and Ottawas were ready to fight against the French, and the Six Nations thought they could destroy Canada alone if Crown Point were out of the way. He could get nothing to Oswego by the river, as scalping had commenced there. If he had supplies, he could bring 1000 Indians into the field in six weeks. The great Cayuga chief, Ottrawana, had informed him by private belts that the western Indians wished to destroy Niagara, and they asked leave of the Six Nations. He sent Lieutenant Visgher to Oswego with goods, but it was dangerous work, a strong guard being needed. Some Senecas and Flatheads were coming with a very large belt, which must mean a great deal of news. Aug. 19 he heard that 500 of the French had advanced from Crown Point to Lake George, where they encamped on an island and sent out parties. He proposed going against them with 300 Indians and as many more colonists. Others joined him on the way, but no statement was made of the result. He wanted plenty of money to pay for scalps, as ready pay was expected. He had also secured the friendship of a principal Seneca chief and gained that nation for the English.

De Chauvignerie was sent to Onondaga from Quebec to con-

dole those who had died from smallpox. He wished to make peace and gave a belt 6 inches broad and 7 feet long. They told him they had taken up the English hatchet against the French, and he went off. There was an invasion of the island of Montreal in June, by a canoe party of English, Mohawks and Senecas. Hendrick, here called Theianoguen, or White Head, led the party, of whom 16 were captured. It was reassuring to the French to know that the Indians of the Sault went against the enemy. The Mohawks killed many of the French, and opinions were divided on the neutrality of the rest. July 23 a party of 61 Iroquois deputies came to Quebec and were there till Sep. 24. They were kindly received, but did nothing. Some Senecas expected did not come.

Shikellimy reported a council at Onondaga that year, whence messengers were to be sent to Albany and Canada. Weiser met 11 Onondagas in Pennsylvania, returning from the Catawba war. There had been 14 Cayugas with them, of whom five were killed. Weiser found Shikellimy and his family sick and some had died. He gave them medicine with good results, but the chief was in a pitiable state, and Weiser asked aid for him because of past services. This was given and he recovered.

Some Iroquois warriors came to Philadelphia from Ohio. The old chiefs wanted peace and the young men war. They needed arms for this and wondered that the English showed so little energy.

At last the Young Indians, the Warriors & Captains consulted together & resolved to take up the English Hatchet against the will of the old People, and to lay their old People aside as of no use but in time of Peace.

In March 1748 some Mohawks were killed near Johnson's house, and they were angry, saying that the English got them into a war and then did not help them, Shirley's expedition being given up.

Governor Clinton had a conference with the Iroquois and their allies in July. He wished them to keep their young men from the Catawba war. Colonel Johnson had been to Onondaga, and

an exchange of prisoners was to be made, as promised. The Indians said they would no longer suffer Joncaire or other Frenchmen to live in their country. Waiting for a war call, and so not hunting, they were impoverished and ought to have relief. Johnson had a trying conference with them at his house in August. He had agreed with a smith to go to the Senecas for six months for £70, but there was no bellows there worth a pin. He thought he could get another smith for the same and had sent six months' provision to Onondaga, there being no food there.

His journey to Onondaga in April and May, he said was "the most troublesome, fatiguing journey" he ever took, but the kind manner in which the Six Nations received him made amends for all. They were out of humor at the poor results of the war and needed corn, pork and other things. The giving up of the Canadian expedition seemed to him ruinous and disgusted the Indians. The Senecas had already expelled Joncaire. The Todirighroones, or Saponies, a tribe of the Catawbas, were now allies of the Six Nations and attended some councils. The Scaniadarighroones, or Nanticokes, did the same. They had no vote, but could prefer requests by virtue of their adoption.

The Mohawks made no Canadian incursions that year, but Governor de la Galissonière had a council with the Six Nations Nov. 2, 1748, Cachointioni, (Kaghswuhtioni) the Onondaga chief, being present. He was then a French partizan, but afterward became a warm friend of Johnson. They signed a declaration that they were not subject to Great Britain.

The Cayugas refused to aid the English unless they would fight like men, which they had not yet done, but word came from Ohio that George Croghan was informed "by the Indians that there were 730 Men of us of the Six Nations settled here on Ohio & able to go to War, exclusive of other Nations which will make up as many more."

A treaty was held at Lancaster July 19, 1748, at which Scarrooyady was speaker. At the request of the Six Nations, the Miamis were received as friends by the English. Weiser was

soon after sent to Logstown to confer with the Indians there, and was shown the numbers of warriors near the Ohio by bundles of sticks. There were 74 Mohawks, 15 Oneidas, 35 Onondagas, 20 Cayugas, and 163 Senecas among these; not half of what had been previously reported. He held several councils with the Iroquois and others there, but Johnson questioned the character and importance of these.

Chapter 17

Abbé Picquet's mission. Shikellimy dies. Nanticokes and Shawnees on the Susquehanna. De Celoron on the Ohio. French activity. Iroquois emigrants. Johnson buys Onondaga lake and shores. Kalm. Death of Canassatego. Cammerhoff visits the Six Nations. Peace with the Catawbas. Johnson resigns office. French troops on the Ohio. Iroquois claims. War with Cherokees. Tuscarora towns. Johnson at Onondaga. Tanacharisson, the Half King. Moravians in New York. Colonial congress at Albany. Mutual complaints. Land treaty with Pennsylvania. Fraudulent purchase of Wyoming. Scarrooyady, the new Half King.

In 1748 the Abbé Picquet went to select a spot for a new settlement and Indian mission on the St Lawrence, choosing the mouth of the Oswegatchie river for its military importance. He went there in May 1749, building a storehouse and fort, armed with five small cannon. It was attacked and burned by the Mohawks Oct. 26. This was on the site of Ogdensburg, and its growth was remarkable. It is stated that there were six families there in 1749, 87 in 1750, and 396 in 1751. Mr Shea said they were mostly Onondagas and Cayugas, and Picquet's biographer says "he reckoned as many as three thousand in his colony," which of course no one believes. The same writer also says that these were of the most influential Iroquois families, the Five Nations having 25,000 people.

While such statements are extravagant, there can be no question that the post was a thorn in the side of New York. In the same extravagant way this French writer goes on to say:

The war parties which departed and returned continually, filled the Mission with so many prisoners that their numbers frequently surpassed that of the warriors, rendering it necessary to empty the villages and send them to Headquarters. In fine a number of other expeditions of which M. Picquet was the principal author have procured the promotion of several officers.

His eulogist ends the list of expeditions in which the warlike priest was engaged by saying: "M. du Quesne said that the Abbé Picquet was worth more than ten regiments."

Shikellimy died in the winter of 1748-49, and his eldest son for a time took his place. Some Seneca and Onondaga chiefs came to Philadelphia July 1, 1749, expecting to meet others on the road who had not yet arrived. They complained of squatters on Pennsylvania lands, and were told they had been forcibly removed. When they left, they were to tell the coming deputies to return, but these arrived Aug. 16, with 280 in the party. They proposed sales of land and had placed the Nanticokes at the mouth of the Juniata, where others from Maryland would join them. The land offered was bought after several conferences and the deed duly signed. The Nanticokes and Shawnees were willing to go to Schahandoana or Wyoming, and had sent two belts to the Six Nations to confirm this.

The French wished to secure the Ohio, and De Celoron went there, took possession and expelled the English traders. He was at the Chautauqua portage July 16, 1749, his trip causing much excitement. Soon after the Shawnees met the Six Nations at Philadelphia, greeted them heartily, and said they were coming to live nearer. Peace had been declared, but the French tried to have the Iroquois attack the Ottawas after this. They at first refused to return Indian prisoners, but yielded at last.

Governor Clinton for a time had all the French prisoners in his hands, and kept the Iroquois from sending deputies to Canada. Before this they had made peace and exchanged prisoners separately. It was necessary to send Arent Stephens to Oswego to talk with the western Indians there, lest they should think themselves despised. He went first to the Six Nations, announced peace and condoled the death of two sachems. The French used to do this and raise up others, but Johnson said he would stop that. He also instructed the Mohawks to leave the exchange to the governor, thus upsetting French schemes. About that time 147 canoes brought 1177 western Indians to Oswego, and its growing trade alarmed the French.

In January 1750 the French sent several belts to the Iroquois and were very active among the Indians. At this time English traders held Indian children as pledges or pawns; but Governor Clinton had them sent back. In February Johnson sent a belt through the Six Nations to tell them that the French were mustering men, and they had better keep their warriors at home, lest surprise should be attempted. The Shawnees were now moving nearer the Iroquois and brought about two bushels of wampum, which was lodged with Johnson to be divided among the Six Nations. It was a greater quantity than he had ever seen.

English traders were scattered all over the western country at this time, to the great injury of the French trade. Governor de la Jonquière thought he would be justified in seizing their goods. He said the English sent messages to the Indians to take the tomahawk against the French, and with these sent "belts of wampum, painted red, the calumet, English flags, &c." Joncaire went to the Ohio to bring the Indians there to the French interests. If this could be done, they might at least destroy the Six Nations. Father Picquet was trying to have them settle at his mission. In May the Cayugas told the French they would be neutral, but they could not control their emigrants.

Governor Glen, of South Carolina, complained that the Senecas, there called Nottawagees, also the Five Nations, Delawares and others were likely to destroy the Catawbas, a brave and friendly people. Governor Hamilton, of Pennsylvania, stated that many of the Iroquois had settled on branches of the Mississippi and were more numerous there than in New York. The French and the Council at Onondaga were both alarmed at this. He, himself, was concerned that the Council at Onondaga could not retain their people. He heard that these Iroquois emigrants, with the Shawnees, Delawares, Owendats, or Hurons, and Twightwees, or Miamis, made a body of 1500 or 2000 men.

The Miamis and Hurons sent a message to the Six Nations and others living on the Ohio, that they gave up the French and desired alliance with them. They had a favorable answer, which included their fathers, the Grand Council at Onondaga. Jon-

caire had spoken to the Six Nations on his way to the Ohio, and a Cayuga sachem came to Johnson to report his words. He brought a lead plate by which Joncaire took possession of various points. Several such plates were buried in suitable places.

Johnson said that smiths must be sent to the Six Nations, but no liquor: "It is actually the ruin of them." The French were again seeking permission to build a fort at Onondaga, but Johnson defeated this by purchasing land there soon after. The smiths ought to have about £20 for presents to the Indians of the castles where they went. They often had more. Kalm, the botanist, was at Niagara that year, and said the French were so anxious for trade that they supplied the Indians all the brandy and rum they wanted, which the priests had always before prevented. Strong drink brought the Indians there.

Weiser came to Onondaga in 1750 in the interests of Virginia, but could effect nothing. The French party had the upper hand; and he thought that nation lost to the English. The Onondagas notified him of Canassatego's death before he got there, and allowed him to condole his death at once and hold a council, as he had come so far. This was without precedent. One house still remained east of the creek. Weiser said:

Our Friend Canassatego was buried to day before I came to Onondago, and Solconwanaghly, our other good friend, died some time before. He that is on the head of affairs now is a proffessed Roman Catholick, and altogether devoted to the French. The French Priests have made a hundred Converts of the Onondagers, that is to say Men, Women and Children, dressed in Silver and Gold, and I believe that the English Interest among the Six Nations can be of no consideration any more. The Indians speak with contempt of the New Yorkers and Albany People, and much the same of the rest of the English Colonies.

In this year occurred the notable visit to the Six Nations of the Moravians Cammerhoff and Zeisberger. Some years before the Moravians planned Indian missions in New York, and a successful one was founded in Dutchess county. This was stopped by the authorities, owing to a violent prejudice against the United Brethren. Their attention had also been drawn to the Iroquois, and John Christopher Pyrlaeus and his wife went

to the Mohawk village of Canajoharie to study the language there, arriving July 17, 1743. Their stay was short, but he returned with Anton Seyffert and tried to reach Onondaga. The Oneidas would not let them pass. Zeisberger and Post tried the same route in 1745 with less success, but the former reached Onondaga the same year with Spangenberg. When the Iroquois were in Philadelphia in 1749, the Moravians consulted some of them, and Cammerhoff and Zeisberger went to Onondaga by way of Cayuga, seeing some Cayuga towns otherwise unmentioned. From that lake the trail passed the foot of Owasco and Skaneateles lakes, reaching Onondaga over the hills. The notes on towns and trails are of interest. At Onondaga they were heartily welcomed by Canassatego, before whose house floated a large English flag. They also visited the Seneca towns at much personal discomfort and peril. Their request that two Moravians should live at Onondaga and learn the language was at last granted, and they returned home. A few weeks after Canassatego died, nor did Cammerhoff long survive.

Though some of the Catawbas were at peace with the Six Nations, the war still went on and was a constant annoyance to settlers. In 1751 peace was formally made at Albany. The Catawbas "came down from their quarters, singing, with their colors pointed to the ground, and having lit their pipes, the king and one more, put them into the mouths of the chief sachems, of the Six Nations, who smoked out of them." They also gave a belt having all their towns on it, to show that all wished peace. Next day "the chief sachem of the Senecas lit a pipe, and put it into the mouths of each of the Catawbas, who smoked out of it and then he returned it among the Six Nations." They would complete the peace when prisoners were exchanged, but it amounted to little.

That year the Six Nations forbade the French making forts on their lands. In their alliance they had now nine castles of Far Indians, or Mississagas, who were Ojibwas or Chippewas. These were settled at Caniahaga and sided with Great Britain.

Colonel Johnson became discouraged at the lack of means and energy, offered his resignation, and sent a belt to all the nations that he was no longer their agent. At the council in July they asked that he might be reinstated. Receiving no definite answer, the Mohawks repeated the request the next year. He was quite a trader, and the Albany people were jealous, for it was said that they had then "no other view in life than that of making money."

All this time Johnson was active among the Indians, and in 1766 told of a curious transaction of this year. The French were again scheming for a fort at Onondaga, and he interfered for the public good. Holding a conference with the Onondagas, he asked them to grant him Onondaga lake, with the land for 2 miles around, and he would make them a handsome present. They signed a deed and he paid them £350 before witnesses. The Assembly refused to reimburse him, but granted him the tract, and he took no farther steps. He bequeathed this to his son, but it was a dead loss.

Both Massachusetts and Pennsylvania tried to have the Mohawks settle on their frontier as a means of defense. "The Bunt" came to Oswego in 1751, bringing an account of the French forts farther west. A large French force had gone to Niagara, and another had crossed from Lake Erie to the Ohio, by way of Chautauqua, meaning to drive the English from that river. He was an influential Onondaga, a great friend of Johnson, and did much for the English.

George Croghan and Andrew Montour held several conferences at Logstown, early in 1751, with chiefs of the Six Nations living on the Ohio, on French aggressions there. A Dunkard tried to buy land on a branch of the Ohio, but "the Indians made answer that it was not in their Power to dispose of Lands; that he must apply to the Council at Onondago." Weiser was sent there in June, but met the Indians at Albany, delivered his message and returned.

Governor de la Jonquière held a council with some Onondagas July 11, 1751. They claimed the Ohio lands by conquest, and he said no settlements should be made without their consent.

This was thought a mistake, as La Salle discovered the river when no Iroquois were there, but only Shawnees, who were friends of the French. The Iroquois claim was from the Erie conquest. The Cherokees had killed 18 Iroquois, and Jonquière wished the latter to make war on them, thinking this would help the French. He died May 17, 1752, and was succeeded by De Longueuil.

War parties went against the Cherokees in 1752. In that year three Moravians visited Onondaga, and there were French traders there from time to time. J. Martin Mack, Gottfried Rundt, and David Zeisberger left Bethlehem for that place, via New York, July 26, reaching there Aug. 20. Mack soon returned, leaving the others to study the language, and from them we have a list of the Tuscarora towns. These were Canaseraga, Ganatisgoa afterward contracted to S'ganatees, Tiachsochratota, and Tiochrungwe. Johnson came there that year, but only as a trader, buying ginseng largely. They returned Nov. 25. Many Indians were employed in digging ginseng and the visiting Moravians got part of their supplies in this way.

In April 1753, runners came to Johnson from Onondaga to say that French and Indians were assembling at Oswegatchie, equipped for war. They would send word whether they were coming against them or the Ohio Indians. Soon after a French army passed Oswego on the way to the Ohio, to make good their claims there, even by force. On account of these grasping claims, many Indians left Oswegatchie.

Andrew Montour went to Onondaga that year to invite the Iroquois to a council at Winchester Va., but they declined going. Conrad Weiser also came to the Mohawks by way of New York, intending to go to Onondaga, and said the Six Nations were afraid of the French. Johnson showed him his commission as Indian superintendent and treated him kindly, saying he might go on, but seeming not to wish this. Governor Clinton was pleased that he went no farther. When Montour was at Onondaga in February, he "said he saw plainly the Indians were frighted, and that there was a Strong Party for the French

among the Indians, and the Senecas particularly were in their Interest." He was there again in August with messages from Virginia and Pennsylvania.

Gov. Danvers Osborne dying suddenly, Gov. James Delancey succeeded him and Colonel Johnson was sent to Onondaga to bury the hatchet, which had not been formally done and the Iroquois were sensitive on these points. Governor Delancey said:

> I thought it would be for His Majesty's Service that once in some years a person with a publick character and some small present should be sent up to Onondago which is the place of the General meeting of the five Nations.

Johnson entered Onondaga Castle Sep. 8, 1753, being met by the sachems a mile from the town. Kaghswughtioni, or Red Head, made a speech, to which Johnson replied, condoling the deaths of three noted sachems. It was a saying among them that, when the fire went out at Onondaga, they would no longer be a people. It now burned low, and he came to rekindle it. They thanked him for speaking in their manner. He found some Frenchmen there and came by the lake himself. In May he had referred to a council held at Onondaga a year earlier, in which the Six Nations resolved not to go to Virginia, but were willing to treat with that colony at Albany. He did not understand what was meant by a conference at Logstown. Not an Iroquois had gone there, and, if wampum was left, it must have been with the Shawnees. Mere messages were valueless, "unless attended or confirmed by a string or belt of wampum, which they look upon as we our letters, or rather bonds."

In December Arent Stephens took a message to both castles of the Mohawks, and the Oneidas and Tuscaroras, with which they were well pleased. A trusty Onondaga bore it to the others.

The French attempts on the Ohio failed that year, but would be resumed the next, and the Iroquois could not resist. It was said that Picquet at first wished to have his fort on Onondaga lake. The previous year the French had sent Caughnawagas among the Six Nations to promote war against the southern

Indians, with whom both had enmity beyond the memory of man. They also let loose the Ottawas on the Mississagas, driving them farther east.

In Ohio the Half King, Tanacharisson, had warned the French to leave the lands of the Six Nations. Scarrooyady said they sent them three warnings according to their custom. The third time they said:

I tell you in plain Words You must go off this land. You say You have a strong Body, a strong Neck, and a strong Voice, that when You speak all the Indians must hear You. It is true You are a strong Body and ours is but weak, yet We are not afraid of You. We forbid you to come any farther; turn back to the Place from whence You came.

Scarrooyady gave his reason for the three messages:

Because, said he, the great Being who lives above, has ordered Us to send Three Messages of Peace before we make War; And as the Half King had before this Time delivered the third and last Message, We had nothing now to do but to strike the French.

A letter had come telling of the Half King's action:

The Half King went to the French Fort to know what was the Reason of their coming to settle the Lands on Ohio. The Commander told him the Land was their's and discharged him and told him he was an Old Woman and all his Nation was in their Favour only him, and if he would not go home he would put him in Irons. He came home and told the English to go off the Place for fear they should be hurt, with Tears in his Eyes.

Two Moravians came to Onondaga in 1753, leaving Bethlehem Ap. 23 and reaching Onondaga June 8. They were Henry Frey and David Zeisberger, and their journey is chiefly remarkable for the ascent of the Tioughnioga river. They lost some time trying to penetrate the wilderness from Owego by land, and some with the Nanticokes, who were removing to New York. They fell in with their fleet of canoes as they were going up the river to settle at Otsiningo, (Chenango) a little north of Binghamton. Their return by the same route began Oct. 13 and ended Nov. 10, but they visited friends on the way. These Moravian journals have many interesting facts not otherwise preserved.

David Zeisberger and Charles Frederick made a later visit,

leaving Bethlehem June 9, 1754, going by Oneida lake and reaching Onondaga July 21, and arriving home June 4, 1755. They stayed till May 18, 1755. This was the last and longest Moravian residence there. They founded no mission, all of their work being of a preparatory kind.

The western Indians grew restive. George Croghan wrote to Governor Hamilton, May 14, 1754, "ye Government may have what opinion they will of ye Ohio Indians, and think they are oblig^{d} to Do what ye Onondago Counsel will bid them, Butt I ashure y^{r} honour they will actt for themselves att this time, without consulting ye Onondago Councel."

That year the Mohawks said they had lost some influence in council from being thought Johnson's advisers. The Onondagas were exhorted to live in one castle, as of old. Most of those who had gone to Oswegatchie were Onondagas and Cayugas, and some said half the Onondagas were there, and that the Senecas were wavering. It was time that the English should awake to their danger.

A congress of seven colonies opened in Albany June 19, 1754. These were New York, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Maryland and Pennsylvania. Virginia and Carolina desired to be considered present. The plan was to have a colonial union established by act of Parliament. There was also an Indian conference. The Oswego traders, 47 in number, complained that the Indians at the Mohawk and Canajoharie castles forcibly took what rum they wanted, and the Oneidas did the same at the carrying place, beside charging exorbitantly for carriage. Hendrick complained of land frauds and of the inefficiency of the English. The Mohawks would have taken Crown Point had they been allowed.

The governor of New York said that Johnson was still their friend; but, as he "for some reasons declined the management of Indian affairs, it was thought proper to re-kindle the fire here, by appointing Commiss^{rs} whom I shall direct to receive and consult with you, upon all business that may concern our mutual interests." This would be tried a year longer. The Indians

were not enthusiastic. Though notice had been given of a large present, not more than 150 men of all nations attended. They wanted rum kept out of their castles, and it was thought fines and imprisonment might be the penalty for unlawful sales.

Johnson said the French should be kept out of Onondaga river by a stricter watch at Oswego, and that Englishmen should be placed in every nation, with forts, missionaries and smiths among the Onondagas and Senecas. Educated young men should go, who might become interpreters, teachers and catechists. Governor Delancey said the commander of a fort at Onondaga might be made a sachem and have a voice in Indian councils. The French increased their influence by such adoptions.

Conrad Weiser was at this council, and the land treaty with Pennsylvania was adjusted. Hendrick said the Six Nations reserved the Wyoming and Shamokin lands as hunting grounds, and Taghneghtoris, or John Shikellimy, was appointed to take care of them. After the council Colonel Lydius made a fraudulent purchase of these lands for a Connecticut company, and this made later trouble.

Tanacharisson, the Half King, died this year. John Harris wrote from his ferry, (now Harrisburg) Oct. 29, 1754:

On the first of this Instant Monacatootha and Several Others, the Chiefs of the Six Nations, came to my house and brought the half King and his Family along with them, who were in General in a very low Condition, particularly himself, who died in a few days, after which I asked Monacatootha and others where they chused to bury him and in what Manner, or if they wanted any thing Necessary for his funeral; their Answer was that they looked on him to be like one of our Selves, and as he died among us we might bury him as we thought proper; that if he was buried well it would be very good, which I did much to their Satisfaction.

In November the Indians resolved to send Scarrooyady, alias Monacatootha, and two other chiefs to Onondaga, to report affairs and ask advice. Governor Morris was informed, and in December 1754

His Honour informed the Council that Scarrooyady an Oneido

Indian, who succeeds Tanachrisson or the Half King in the Direction of Indian Aughwick was come to Town along with Two other Indians in their Way to Onondago.

A conference followed, and Governor Morris sent a belt to Onondaga about the Connecticut land sale. He also wrote to Governor Fitch of that colony, and Hendrick promised to undo the mischief.

M. Duquesne held a council with part of the Six Nations at Quebec in October 1754. The Senecas did not come. The Onondagas came but took no part. A secret conference followed with the Oneidas, Cayugas and Tuscaroras, who favored the French. They then invited the others and reproved them. Some Oswegatchie Indians, who had been to Albany, gave up their English medals to the French. The deputies also decided that Albany and Oswego should not be molested. A council that winter, at Onondaga, would decide on the French proposals.

Chapter 18

Wyoming deed to be destroyed. Johnson's speech. Council fire now at Mt Johnson. Storehouses at Oneida Portage. Battle of Lake George. Death of Hendrick. Braddock's defeat. Delawares and Shawnees claim to be men. Ticonderoga built. Forts among the Six Nations. Fort Bull destroyed. War declared on the Delawares, who are reproved by the Six Nations. Johnson's condolence of an Onondaga sachem. Council at Onondaga lake. Road to Oswego made. Indians take the hatchet. Oswego destroyed. Easton council. Teedyuscung. Oneidas give up medals, scalps and belts.

Hendrick and some Mohawks were in Philadelphia Jan. 15, 1755, and said that the Connecticut deed should be destroyed, but he could not do it. It must be done at Onondaga. He advised a meeting of two chiefs from each nation to settle the matter: "But then as it is a War Time, We advise that this be done as soon as possible, for We who are here to-day may not be here to-morrow." He was killed that year.

Scarrooyady made a report Mar. 31. The Mohawks advised him to go to Onondaga, "but hearing on all hands that the Onondagers were not well affected to the English," he stopped at Oneida, where French influence was strong. The Oneidas said this was wise, and added: "Nobody cared now to do Business

at Onondago. All Persons who were in the English Interest and had Business to do with the Six Nations of late came round about Onondago and passed by the Town."

Till 1755 a large French trade was carried on at Albany by the Caughnawagas, the Indians preferring English strouds to French goods. In June Johnson had a warrant from General Braddock as sole superintendent of the Six Nations, their allies and dependents. June 21 we have "Hon. Wm. Johnson's first public speech to the Indians" as superintendent, translated into Mohawk by Daniel Clause and delivered for Johnson by Red Head, the Onondaga speaker. He removed the council fire from Albany to Mount Johnson, and his familiar emblem of a bundle of sticks was applauded. There were 1106 Indians present, and more men than he had ever seen at a council. The Elder Brothers made Red Head speaker, and an Indian reported that the Oswegatchie settlement had been broken up for want of provisions and Fort Frontenac strengthened. The Mississagas came and made alliance, and Arent Stephens danced the war-dance, to "which the sachems bore the usual chorus."

Johnson tried to keep rum from the Indians at this time, with but partial success, and raised some sachems. The Onondagas asked for a fort, as they would fight the French. He told the Oneidas that General Shirley would have to build a magazine at each end of the portage and hoped they would not hinder it. They replied that work begun had been stopped by them, as they had received no message. Now it should go on. They complained of Germans on their lands who were there by permission, not ownership, and who made trouble.

In September Johnson had 250 men with him at Lake George and more were coming. He was building a fort there, had made a good wagon road to Albany, and cleared ground to encamp 5000 men, whom he expected to arrive soon. He hoped to pass the lake, take post at Ticonderoga, and then attack Crown Point. The French advanced, fighting followed Sep. 8, in which Colonel Williams and King Hendrick fell on the English side, and Baron Dieskau was taken on the French. Hendrick fell under his

horse, being an old and heavy man, and was bayoneted. The Iroquois, losing 30 men and being discouraged by this and the numbers of the French, at once returned home.

General Johnson was knighted for his good conduct; and General Shirley wished him to call a council at Onondaga, and also privately to engage some Iroquois to go against the French and Indians on the Ohio. They could join a party already in Pennsylvania and get the Susquehanna Indians to go too. Johnson did not approve of his having other Indian agents and wished a fixed sum for himself and the secretary, Mr Wraxall. When the Indians came to him, they had to be maintained, and a journey to Onondaga or Oswego was expensive. Shirley proved a poor manager, but Massachusetts appropriated funds to secure Iroquois aid, and the garrison at Oswego was reinforced by four companies. Desertions were frequent there.

The Six Nations had little to do with Braddock's affairs, though Scarrooyady and a few others were with him at his defeat July 9. They were displeased because he did not consult them.

Most of the Ohio Indians were dissatisfied with the Albany purchase of Susquehanna lands, and this led to hostilities with the Delawares and Shawnees. The year before they had asked that they might no longer be clad like women, but fight like men for themselves. A change had come over them, and, being encouraged by the French, they now fought without leave. The French policy had hitherto been to weaken the Indians. This having been sufficiently done, they were now to be protected, but they were not always reliable. At the battle of Lake George the Canadian Iroquois refused to attack the English camp, and helped defeat the French by later inaction. M. de Vaudreuil had a conference at Montreal with the Senecas Oct. 1, 1755, who came to bring Joncaire home. Some other Iroquois came later, and he thought all were in the French interest except the Onondagas and Mohawks. That year the French occupied Ticonderoga.

In 1756 the Earl of Loudon became commander in chief, and was empowered to furnish Johnson all he required for forts or smiths among the Indians. Johnson's general plans were

approved; and he had a council with the Six Nations, who were firm in the British alliance and pleased with the proposed council at Oswego. All but the Cayugas desired forts in their country, and every Indian castle ought to have a minister. He wished two persons of unblemished character as chaplains for the proposed garrisons at Onondaga and Oneida, and as missionaries to the Indians. Something should be done for the Rev. Mr Ogilvie, who was doing excellent work among the Mohawks.

The conference mentioned seems the one held in June 1756 at Onondaga, but which was deferred at the request of the Mohawks, several minor councils taking place meantime. At one in February Johnson condoled the deaths of Hendrick and others, and gave six French prisoners to replace them. Some remote Senecas were present at this time, who had never been at Johnson's before and had come from Ganuskago, where Dansville now stands. He was sorry they still had trouble in the south. At this time Sir William gave "the largest pipe in America, made on purpose," to be hung up in the council house at Onondaga, and smoked at important councils. The presents amounted to £1085, and the French were still more liberal.

Late in March 1756 Lieutenant de Lery, with some Frenchmen and Canadian Iroquois, passed Oswegatchie, came to the Oneida portage and destroyed Fort Bull. Five English forts were abandoned next year and replaced by another there. Some Onondagas condoled Johnson on this first loss in April. They desired an early council in their town; and, as it would be large and they had few provisions, they wished he would send some for their guests. Workmen were ready to build their forts, and orders were given for the Oneida fort on Ap. 21; for the Onondaga Ap. 30. Horses were employed in the work. Each was a square stockade with two blockhouses at opposite angles, and several such forts were built that year, traces of some still remaining.

In May Johnson was formally invited to the council held at Onondaga in June. He said there were many deserters from Oswego among the Indians, who made trouble by their false-

hoods. Great numbers of these were among the Delawares and Susquehanna Indians. He conferred with some Oneida and Seneca chiefs; also with two Seneca women. They said it was common to take women into their councils, specially among the Senecas. There were frequent instances of this among the other Iroquois. At this time the Mohawks did not wish him to go to the Onondaga council, and he yielded so far as to send messengers there first. On their return the Mohawks advised him to go, but with a guard, as French parties made the road dangerous, and he would be a valued prize.

In Pennsylvania Braddock's defeat had turned the scale with the dissatisfied Delawares, and they became hostile, siding with the French. On this, Pennsylvania declared war in the winter of 1755-56. Scarrooyady, the new Half King, favored this and thought the Six Nations would approve. Johnson disliked both the declaration and the large scalp bounty. It was a bad move just before a general council, alarmed the Iroquois and might keep the southern Indians away. Many conferences followed in Pennsylvania, the Iroquois there adhering to the colony, while the Delawares said they were "determined to fight the English as long as there is a Man left." The Six Nations ordered them to stop, but they were defiant at first, and then word was sent that they would obey. A council was held at Otsiningo, to which 300 Delaware warriors came, agreeing to lay down the hatchet at the wish of the Six Nations. They were still told they were women and severely reproved, but more latitude was allowed them.

Johnson arrived at Oneida June 13, conferring with some Indians there. He was shown a French belt, inviting the Onondaga, Cayuga, Oneida and Tuscarora chiefs to a treaty at Montreal June 15. His visit now was as a mourner, as the condoling council must precede business, his warm friend, the Onondaga speaker, having died. The account is of interest:

> Sir William and the sachems of every nation, prepared the several speeches of condolence to be made at Onondaga upon the death of Kaghswoughtioony, alias Red Head, chief sachem of said nation, and chose the proper belts for the ceremony.

June 18 two Cayugas met Sir William "at the place where the Onondagas formerly lived," about 5 miles from their habitation at that time. This was south of Jamesville, and they were now on the west side of Onondaga creek. He was to send word when he would enter the town, that the Cayugas, representing the Younger Brothers, might meet him and join in his condolence of the great Onondaga chief. Three Cayugas met him a mile from the castle, halting two hours to settle all forms according to ancient custom. Then Johnson marched on at the head of the chiefs, part of whom sang the condoling song, containing the names, laws and customs of their renowned ancestors, and asking happiness for the departed.

When they came in sight of the castle, they found the head chiefs and warriors seated "in a half moon across the road, in profound silence." In the hour's halt there, the condoling song was again sung, hands were shaken and the visitors welcomed. Then Sir William led the warriors, the sachems in the rear singing the same song. All in the town fired their guns as a salute, and this was returned by his party. He was then taken to an arbor by Red Head's house, where he was addressed by the chiefs. Next day the grand ceremony was performed with 11 belts and three strings, followed by an enemy's scalp to replace the dead, and a glass of rum to wash away grief. This ended the ceremony, which did not include the raising of a new chief.

June 20 Johnson encamped by the lake, 5 miles from the castle, to be near his boats, provisions and presents. A long council followed. An Oswegatchie Indian said the French meant to build a fort at Oswego Falls and another at the west end of Oneida lake. Another party would ravage German Flats and a fourth attack Johnson's house, kill or take him, and ravage the lower Mohawk. The Indians rejected a French belt and cast it on the ground. Messengers from the Susquehanna said the Nanticoke king at Otsiningo was dead. Delawares, Shawnees and others came June 27, and the new Half King was present.

June 28 the war song was sung, and Johnson promised them a roasted ox at the war dance next day. July 1 they gave him

leave to open a road to Oswego. The Oneidas and Tuscaroras would help make it from German Flats to Canaseraga, and the Onondagas thence to Oswego. He might build a fort at Oswego Falls, to be destroyed when the war was over. He gave the Indians kettles to feast on their enemies' flesh, which is noted as figurative; eating meat out of the kettles at a war feast being called eating a Frenchman's flesh, as drinking is then termed drinking an enemy's blood.

He placed a medal on the Onondaga speaker's neck. A treaty was made with the Delawares and Shawnees, and the former were fixed at Tioga by the Six Nations, where some Iroquois then lived. The Iroquois feared the French because of their many Indian allies. On reaching home he had another conference with the Delawares and Shawnees. With the consent of the Six Nations, he declared the former no longer women but men, but they were not formally made so for many years later. He sent out many parties, and the Indians were pleased with their new forts.

Various collisions preceded the fall of Oswego, the most important being Bradstreet's successful fight at Oswego Falls, of which the French and English gave very different accounts. While returning from Oswego with 300 boatmen and their boats, he was attacked from the east side of the river at Battle island, July 3, 1756. Landing on the small island there with six men, he held it till reinforced, repulsing three assaults. Thence the contest followed the west bank to the falls, lasting three hours.

Oswego was invested by Montcalm Aug. 11, and surrendered Aug. 14, Col. Mercer having been killed. With its siege the Six Nations had nothing to do, but the French had many savages with them, whose mere yells did as much toward the surrender as the guns of the French. Their Indians, they said, "perpetrated a multitude of horrors, and assassinated more than 100 persons included in the capitulation, without our being able to prevent them, or having the right to remonstrate."

The dilatory—to use no stronger word—General Webb got only to the Oneida portage. Learning there the loss of Oswego,

he destroyed all the forts at the carrying-place and marched back, disgusting his Indian allies, who said it looked like giving up, so needless was this. The Onondagas proved their character as "men of business" by securing some of the provisions left at Oswego, and heard that 100 of the English were massacred there by drunken Indians. Johnson sent out many parties that year, and reported various conferences of moderate importance.

In the Easton council in Pennsylvania, July 28, 1756, the Delaware chief, Teedyuscung, said he had been made king over five united nations, and represented the Iroquois also. The latter afterward denied this emphatically. Major Parsons thus described him: "He is a lusty raw bon'd Man, haughty, and very desirous of Respect and Commendation; he can drink three Quarts or a Gallon of Rum a day, without being Drunk."

The Cherokees and other southern nations joined the English, and both the Iroquois and Delawares said they would never fight on the same side with them. Another council followed at Easton in October, and peace was made. During these troubles Shikellimy's three sons found refuge with the Delawares.

In July 1756 some Cayugas and Senecas were at Niagara and said they would remain neutral, but part went against the English at Oswego and elsewhere. Chauvignerie formed a band of 29 Cayugas, Onondagas and Senecas against the English on the Ohio, and the latter were afterward publicly thanked for killing many English there. These Indians may have been emigrants.

The Onondagas and Oneidas sent 80 deputies to Montreal in July, and they were kept till after the surrender of Oswego in August. Governor de Vaudreuil said that Johnson would thus be deprived of expected aid. The news was announced to them Aug. 20, when there were 150 Iroquois there, and they naturally and rather warmly congratulated the victors.

Some Onondagas and Cayugas came to Montreal late in November 1756 and had an audience on the 30th. They noticed that some usual ceremonies were omitted, for, when the Five Nations came, it was customary to send an interpreter with wampum to meet them and to salute them with five guns. Others

came later, and about 100 were at the council which opened Dec. 13, continuing till the 30th. No Mohawks were present, but all there were friendly to the French, the Oneidas particularly so. The latter gave up their English medals, and left 17 deputies to spend the winter there. It was a great expense holding such a council, but unavoidable. The meeting was thus summed up:

Such has been this famous embassy of the Five Nations, the most important that has occurred for a long time, and which ought to be regarded as indeed important under existing circumstances. . . The neutrality of those Nations is one of the greatest advantages we could obtain over the English.

The French desired more than neutrality, which the Cayugas are said to have long maintained. A shrewd move was made:

The Oneidas presented the Cayugas a Belt from which an English scalp was suspended. This proceeding had been the thought of an Iroquois, a shrewd politician to get an English scalp introduced into the cabin of the Cayugas, where, as yet, there have not been any.

The Indians desired to look into French customs of a social nature, in which they might share. It is said: "The Ambassadors asked to remain until the morrow, New Year's day, because they had been told that on that day the Pale faces kissed each other and that liquor was furnished."

Among other curious notes of this council is the following:

In regard to the Belts presented by the latter, each of them furnished in turn and contributed equally to that expense, and as the Indians are very particular in exhibiting the share they possess in these presents, at the end of each speech, the orator is careful, when handing the Belt, to cry out the name of the Canton, or Nation, which has furnished it.

Chapter 19

Council at Onondaga. Six Nations neutral, but Mississagas hostile to them. Peace with the Cherokees. Easton council. Teedyuscung. German Flats destroyed. Abercrombie defeated. Land dispute settled at Easton. Teedyuscung reproved. Council at Canajoharie. Iroquois take the war belts. Canadian Indians abandon the French. Forts built. Niagara taken. Assensing council. Montreal taken. Iroquois present. Religion and education. Prisoners released. Plans for schools. Murders at Kanestio.

A council was held at Onondaga in the spring of 1757, and the Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas resolved to be neutral.

The Oneidas and Tuscaroras did not declare themselves, but were much affected by the destruction of the forts at the portage. Half the Oneidas favored the French.

June 10 some Senecas and Onondagas came to Fort Johnson, followed by Cayugas and Mohawks. The Senecas showed a great belt of invitation, 30 rows wide, which they would send to other nations, and also a French war belt. Another was sent to the Delawares and referred to them. They told the Delawares they had buried the hatchet deep. The Six Nations had not used the ax given them against the French last winter, but at their council at Onondaga had resolved to hold fast the English covenant chain. They were so weak that their aid ought not to be expected. Johnson was surprised that they were now hostile to the Mississagas. The Onondaga speaker retorted the charge of indifference on the English as in De Nonville's, Frontenac's and other invasions. They heard that the Mississagas threatened revenge on them for some killed at Oswego, but the Onondagas would not commence war. Many belts had arrived at Onondaga, and there would be a general council in July. The Oquagas, mostly Iroquois, were on the English side.

Three Cherokee chiefs came to Fort Johnson July 31, and had a conference with Johnson and some Senecas, Cayugas and Oneidas. They were condoled as usual and replied:

> Perhaps you will expect a formal answer upon this ceremony of condolence. Brethren, we are warriors, and do not understand these matters, and hope you will excuse us. All we can say is, that we are glad to shake you by the hand, and by this string of wampum remove all trouble and disquiet from your breast.

They would direct their arms against the French fort on the Ohio, and in them they might see all the Cherokee nation. In September a Seneca chief, named the Belt, thanked Johnson for the Cherokees, and another Seneca chief spoke for them. They had begun with a small hatchet, but hoped soon to have a larger. An Oneida chief spoke for the Six Nations. They would invite Cherokee deputies to Fort Johnson, and their young men should be warned not to go on the warpath toward their country.

Sep. 19 their message was formally delivered to the four Cherokees, who were seated in four chairs. Johnson lighted the calumet, took a whiff or two and passed it to the Cherokees, who did the same. The gentlemen present smoked and then the Iroquois who were there. The tobacco from whence it was filled was then put in a bag to be carried home by the Cherokees with the calumet. The Belt, a Seneca chief, then delivered the message of the Six Nations, with a very large white belt furnished by Johnson. Seneca George would return with them as far as Philadelphia and farther if his shoes held out.

Not being relieved by General Webb, Fort William Henry surrendered Aug. 29, after a six days' siege, and the Indians robbed and stripped many after the capitulation, even killing some. Montcalm had 363 Canadian Iroquois with him at this time, and this loss cooled the zeal of the Six Nations for the English. Though neutrality was promised, some Senecas and Cayugas shared in hostilities in Pennsylvania, and Governor de Vaudreuil reported that he had 20 parties of Senecas and Cayugas in the field against the Catawbas and English. There were always some whom the chiefs could not control.

A Mohawk chief, who went with George Croghan to Pennsylvania in June, brightened the friendly chain between the Cherokees and Six Nations in the presence of Col. George Washington. Both would hold to the English, and three Cherokees were deputed to go to the Six Nations. On their way they stopped at Easton, where there was a council with the Delawares and Senecas, and were told that the grand council, which sat for two months at Onondaga, had broken up, having determined to hold to the English. The Delawares and Shawnees in Ohio had trouble with the French and were also likely to take the same side.

The Easton council was held in July and August. In the latter month Teedyuscung concluded a peace on behalf of 10 nations. He said he was formerly represented as a woman by his uncles, the Six Nations, but they gave him a good pipe and good tobacco, and he gave these to the English. In response, Governor Morris gave him a very large belt with significant letters and figures.

The treaty required the approval of the Six Nations. At the end of the council there was a grand dinner for all present, peace was formally proclaimed and interpreted to the Indians, and salutes were fired. There were bonfires and dances, with supplementary conferences. Teedyuscung said:

I was styled by my uncles the Six Nations, a woman, in former years, and had no hatchet in my hand, but a pestle or homminy pounder. As I had no tomahawk, and my uncles were always styled men, and had tomahawks in their hands, they gave me a tomahawk, and appointed and authorized me to make peace with a tomahawk in my hand, I take that tomahawk, and turn the edge of it against your enemies the French.

A curious effect of scalp bounties, even on women, is seen in the petition of Margery Mitchell, Oct. 26, 1757:

I was some time ago in Philada., in Expectation of recg a reward from the Com^rs^ for an Indian Scalp, but was quite disappointed; it ill suited me at the time to take so fatiguing & expensive a Journey, one might think Common humanity would induce the Gentlemen to allow me some small matter on that occasion.

German Flats was destroyed in November 1757. The people had been warned by the Oneidas, but felt secure. It was attacked by 300 French and Indians under M. de Belletre. A few Onondagas joined him at Famine river, and he sent a message to Oneida Castle by four influential Indians, six Oneidas joining him. The Palatine settlement was protected by five small forts, all of which were destroyed. None of the French were killed, but 40 colonists perished, 150 were made prisoners and 60 houses were burned. In another fort were 350 men, not a mile away.

The Oneidas and Tuscaroras were asked why they had not given the alarm; on which they showed that they had done so, but their advice was not heeded. The Germans said the same. It was the castle at Oneida lake and not the upper one to which the French sent word. The latter was not to be told.

In the spring of 1758 the French commander at Fort Duquesne made unfriendly comments on the Six Nations and sent Wyandot spies to Onondaga, who told their errand and wished a trading post might be built there. The Seneca chief, John Hudson, or

Eyendeegen, was present at a council with the Munseys in Philadelphia Aug. 4. He said they could not hold treaties, being women, and conducted the business for them.

July 7, 1758, Abercrombie was defeated at Ticonderoga with heavy loss. The Iroquois despised him from the first and few Indians shared in the fight on either side. Some success the English now had. In August Colonel Bradstreet took Fort Frontenac, and Oswego was reoccupied. In November Fort Duquesne was evacuated on the approach of General Forbes. The Indians of Canada were displeased with Montcalm's treatment of them at Ticonderoga, and the Six Nations took note of this.

The fourth Easton council met Oct. 8, 1758, and the Iroquois, Minisinks and Delawares came. The assembly was large and the ancient rites scrupulously observed. Three old land disputes were to be settled; the Iroquois sale of 1754, the Walking Purchase, and the claims of the Minisinks in New Jersey. The last was speedily adjusted, and the lands west of the mountains were deeded back to the Iroquois. On the Walking Purchase, Teedyuscung's official character came in question, and his pride had a blow in a private council. A Mohawk chief said: "Who made Teedyuscung the chief of the nations? If he be such a great man we desire to know who made him so." A Seneca chief said: "We do not know who made Teedyuscung this great man over Ten Nations, and I want to know who made him so." An Onondaga chief added, "I never heard before now that Teedyuscung was such a great man, and much less can I tell who made him so. No such thing was ever said in our towns." An Oneida spoke for the Oneidas, Tuscaroras, Nanticokes and Conoys: "I now tell you none of us know who has made Teedyuscung such a great man. Perhaps the French have, or perhaps you have, or some among you, as you have different governments and are different people. We for our part entirely disown that he has any authority over us, and we desire to know from whence he derives his authority."

In that chief's presence, next day, the governors of Pennsylvania and New Jersey explained that he only claimed to be king

over five Delaware nations and was but the messenger of the Six Nations, of whom he always spoke as his uncles and superiors. The storm was averted, but the offense was not forgotten. He had also proposed a sale of lands about Shamokin, Wyoming etc. The Iroquois chiefs replied: "We have no power to convey Lands to any one, but will take your Request to the great Council Fire for their Sentiments, as we never convey or sell Lands before it be agreed in the great Council of the United Nations." It is readily seen that this was but a convenient excuse.

In April 1759 Johnson held a council at the Canajoharie castle, stopping at Brant's house, where the Bunt, other Onondaga and some Cayuga chiefs waited on him, some Cayugas, Senecas, Nanticokes and Shawnees coming later. While they were waiting for the Oneidas, Tuscaroras and Geneseo Senecas, their arms were repaired, and he sent food to some on the way.

When the council opened, Sir William, with the Mohawks, Onondagas and Senecas, condoled the death of some of their people since leaving home, and the usual general condolence followed. He spoke of a murder by a Cayuga, and an Oneida chief gave five white prisoners to him. Tuscarora spies told what they had seen in Canada, where some Oswegatchie Indians wished to return to Onondaga. Some western Indians had sent a belt to the Six Nations, as they desired to pass through their country to talk with Johnson. A sachem of each of the Six Nations would come with them that year, and the Geneseo chiefs waited to conduct them.

Governor de Vaudreuil had told the Oneidas that the English, having built a fort at their portage, were about to erect one at each end of Oneida lake and another at the falls of the Onondaga (Oswego) river. However he got his news, this proved correct. Though these would be strong, he said, the one at Oswego would be stronger; and the English would then destroy the Five Nations. He gave them a large hatchet belt of 6000 beads. The Nanticokes had also been sent for to Onondaga, receiving a sharp French hatchet with a similar message, but they returned this by advice of the Oneidas.

All agreed to go against the French as an atonement for the murder. This would be an effective plaster for the wound. The Onondagas then made a feast of a roasted ox, presented by Johnson, and the war dance was shared by some of every nation. From the Susquehanna 50 more Indians arrived. He told them that at the Easton treaty the Pennsylvania people gave up all the land claimed on the Ohio, which had been sold them in 1754. The deed of surrender would be kept in the council house at Onondaga.

After telling them of General Amherst's appointment, Sir William threw the war belt, which was taken up by a Mohawk, who danced with it, followed by others. A few warriors had gone with Johnson before; all would go now. Two oxen were boiled in five large kettles and laid out in large pieces in Indian style, the chiefs and warriors being seated in two lines opposite the fires in the center.

The Old Belt, a great Seneca chief, said that the Geneseo Indians heartily joined the English, and that 26 of their warriors would follow Johnson to war before they went home. They now gave up Fort Niagara to be destroyed. He then began the war dance, which was kept up all night by others. Three chiefs of each nation came to Johnson to ask him to send an army at once against Niagara. "The sooner the thing is done the better," they said, and gave a belt with the figure of Niagara at one end and his name at the other.

The Oswegatchies sent him a message, thanking him and saying they would keep out of the way of the English and not join the French. They wished to return to their native land, and their priest sent a message of peace, having no interest in the war. His town was but a religious school. The Caughnawagas and others would act no more with the French. Johnson was pleased and promised to equip the Indians and provide for their families.

That year the Royal Blockhouse was built at the head of Oneida lake and Fort Brewerton at the foot. A fort was also built at Oswego Falls on the east side. Johnson and Prideaux soon left for Niagara, embarking on Oneida lake June 21, passing

Fort Brewerton June 23 and encamping at Three River Point. They were at Oswego Falls June 24 to 27, and left Oswego July 1. The French tried to surprise Oswego after they left, but were repulsed. The English had 3100 troops and Indians, who landed at Niagara July 8. General Prideaux was killed on the 20th and Johnson took command. The fort surrendered July 25, and the army returned to Oswego. About one third were Indians. About the same time General Amherst took Ticonderoga and soon after Crown Point; while Quebec surrendered Sep. 18.

Some unimportant conferences were held at Pittsburg that year, in which Iroquois chiefs took part. There was also "a great Meeting of Indians at Assensing, on the Cayuga Branch of the Sasquehannah," in the interests of peace. This was a Munsey town in New York, recently settled there. This council was "preparatory to a General Council, which the Western Indians proposed to hold in the month of April over the Ohio."

In the summer of 1760 Amherst collected his forces at Oswego and descended to Montreal, which soon surrendered. The only opposition was at Fort Levis, a little below the present city of Ogdensburg, occupied by a small force under M. de Pouchot. He was called Sategariouaen, In the Midst of Good Affairs. The Indians left Oswegatchie the year before, settling on the Isle Picquet. Many now went to Montreal and elsewhere, and the rest refused to aid the French. There were places of interest in the vicinity. Pointe aux Iroquoise, locally called Point Rockaway, was a place where that people always stopped in going up or down. Toniata, the place of the eel fishery, now Grenadier island, was a noted resort from the earliest times. St Regis, on the St Lawrence and intersected by the boundary line, was a mission settlement and is still a reservation. It is worthy of note that in this last engagement of this great war, two vessels engaged were called after Iroquois nations. One was the Onondaga, called the Seneca by Pouchot, and the Mohawk, called Oneida by him.

A list has been given of 1330 Indians who promised to go with Johnson at this time. Among these were 284 Cayugas, 57 Tusca-

roras, 158 Mohawks, 203 Onondagas, 60 Oneidas, 126 Senecas, and 15 Oswegatchies. But 706 actually embarked.

In 1760 Archbishop Secker spoke of the Rev. Henry Barclay as the son of a missionary to the Indians of New York, saying that he was appointed by the S. P. G. a Mohawk catechist in 1735, ordained a priest in 1737 and settled as missionary there, learning the Mohawk tongue and preaching to them successfully. He was said to have formed a congregation of 500, with 61 worthy communicants, continuing there till 1745, when the attacks of the French Indians obliged him to leave.

Peace having come, the Honorable Scotch Commissioners, in and near Boston, in 1761 conceived the idea of educating Indian youths from a distance. They sent an Indian, David Fowler, who was going on a mission to the Oneidas, to select some, and he brought three young Mohawks, one of whom was Joseph Brant. In November Samuel Kirkland, afterward the noted missionary, visited Johnson, who approved his plan of learning the Mohawk language.

There was a council at Easton Aug. 3, 1761, with Onondagas, Oneidas, Cayugas and their allies, Seneca George of Otsiningo being the principal speaker. Conrad Weiser was dead, and they chose his son Samuel as his successor. A Conoy chief, called Last Night, said:

I would acquaint You that the Chief of the Mohickons & Opies have settled with the Six Nations at a place called Chenango, where you may always find them if you should have occasion to speak to them.

In 1762 there were meetings about surrendering prisoners. Some of the Iroquois had been hostile to the English in the Delaware war, but at last a full treaty of peace was made. There was a conference at Philadelphia Mar. 30, with 21 Cayugas, who reported a council held at Onondaga about these prisoners, but the Senecas were dilatory. A general council met at Lancaster in August, and 17 English prisoners were returned. There would have been more, but some had been claimed and given up on the

road. A few, like Mary Jemison and others, would not return. Some cases were hard. The noted Oneida chief, Thomas King, said:

I brought a Girl to Easton, and she run away; when I came home I found her there. Bless me! says I, there is my Wife. I was sorry that I had delivered her, but to my surprize I found her at home. You know it is hard to part with a Wife. I have brought you an English prisoner, who I love as my own Wife. I have a young Child by her. You know it is very hard for a man to part with his Wife. I have delivered her, therefore take care of her, and keep her safe, that she don't make her escape.

At this council the Six Nations said they had permitted a fort at Shamokin, which was to be destroyed in due time, and they now wished it removed. It was on their warpath and might make trouble between them and the soldiers.

That year Edward Johnson, schoolmaster at the Tuscarora castle, made complaints. It was hard teaching such scholars. The Rev. Mr Wheelock wrote that a legacy of £750 from Sir Peter Warren had been appropriated by the General Assembly of Massachusetts for the support and education of six youths of the Six Nations, as he had desired. He had the youths and was teaching them, but the commissioners thought this was not the best way. They thought it better to have English schools among them, and he wanted Johnson's opinion. He replied that Wheelock's plan was best, as the others would find if they tried theirs. In October of that year Johnson wrote to the Rev. Mr Barclay about a new edition of the Mohawk prayer book, sending the old one with some additional translations.

Guy Johnson had a conference at Onondaga in December about the murder of two Englishmen by two Indians in the Seneca country. Nov. 30, he came to the upper Oneida Castle and the next day to Canowaroghere, (present Oneida Castle), a new village of the Oneidas. Dec. 2 he was at the Tuscarora village of Canaseraga. Dec. 4 he arrived at Onondaga and was welcomed by Otschiniata, or the Bunt. He was told that Kanisteo was a village of lawless stragglers, but the Indians would send there for the murderers.

Chapter 20

Connecticut people at Wyoming. Indians wish forts destroyed. Western scalp belt. Pontiac's war. Forts taken. Hostile Senecas. Indian complaints. Soldiers destroyed near Niagara. Iroquois land claims. Mohawk prayer book. Report on Indians. Six Nations join English against Ottawas. Indians on the Susquehanna. Conestogas killed. Towns burned on the Chemung. Peace with the Senecas. Niagara council. Education. Kirkland. Council with Delawares. English occupy Illinois. Pontiac at Oswego.

In May 1763 four Iroquois deputies came to Johnson's house, having a message and several belts for the governor of Connecticut, desiring him to stop his people from settling on the Susquehanna. There had been trouble there before. They wanted some Mohawks to go with them and a deputy from Sir William to care for them on the road and prevent imposition. Lieutenant Johnson and an interpreter were sent.

May 21 there arrived 139 sachems and warriors, and the desired council was opened with the usual ceremonies and belts. On the 26th 45 Geneseos came; and then the Onondaga speaker spoke for all, repeating the old agreements and relating later history. Now that the French were *dead,* the building of more forts made them uneasy. They feared that western traders might have trouble and advised that trade should be limited to Oswego, Niagara and Detroit. The Senecas had been persuaded to arrange about the murder. The Senecas then spoke, saying they would not rest till they brought a plaster for that wound.

After the council an Indian came to say that the French had ascended the Mississippi and invested some English forts westward. A large belt, with English scalps, had been sent by them to the Six Nations, asking their aid, which was refused. The Indians were positive, but Johnson thought it an old belt, sending to Onondaga and elsewhere to learn more. In June the Onondagas sent wampum to the Indians on the Susquehanna, saying:

> This String of Wampum comes to let you know that the French that was killed is come alive again, and that there is seven of your out Posts taken and all the People killed by the French, and a number of wild Indians that have tails like Bears.

An express arrived in June to report the investment of Detroit

for 36 days, by from 500 to 1600 Ottawas, Ojibwas and Delawares. They feared the advancing power of the English; but Johnson thought he had removed all difficulties at his Detroit conference in 1761. Dissatisfaction increased because presents were not continued to western Indians. The Mississagas and Ojibwas now blockaded Detroit and totally defeated 100 men sent to its relief. The Six Nations said they rejected this western alliance, but he feared the Senecas might fall away. The Mohawks had not been well used, yet were doing much for the English. Though few, they were still considered the head of the Six Nations by the rest. The Onondagas also showed a strong attachment. He ordered an interpreter to stay at Oswego to save trouble with Indians there.

The western Indians captured a fort at Venango Pa., and a blockhouse at Presque Isle. The post at Leboeuff was abandoned. Onondaga messengers said that Venango was treacherously taken by some Geneseo Indians living near by. At a meeting at Onondaga the Senecas spoke with three belts, saying they had loosed their warriors against the English and wished the rest to do the same. This was rejected by all; and the Onondagas sent a large belt to the Senecas, desiring them to stop at once. All but the Senecas agreed to attend a council at German Flats. This was afterward changed to Johnson Hall on account of Johnson's indisposition.

Since the conquest of Canada the western nations and Iroquois had warred with the Cherokees, and parties often passed through the western parts of the colonies, keeping up a warlike spirit. The Geneseo Senecas, the hostile party, now sent bands to Irondequoit and Sodus to waylay passing boats. Johnson advised an expedition against the Ohio Indians, the Senecas, Delawares and Shawnees, the real authors of the present trouble. There was an engagement in August near Fort Pitt, between Colonel Bouquet and a large Indian force, the latter being defeated. The three murderers, authors of the trouble, were reported killed. That the Indians had serious grounds for complaint is not doubted, but some were due to themselves and of

small weight. Some complained that Johnson gave them too little powder. He said:

The Indians are remarkably the very worst managers of powder on every occasion, and whilst they have any ammunition are continually discharging their pieces at every little object, be their necessities ever so great. Every hunter consumes about 8 lbs. of powder, and 20 lbs. of lead at his two hunting seasons in the year, and without that quantity a good hunter seldom chooses to go out.

The council met Sep. 14, with 326 Iroquois present, and that day 246 more came from the Susquehanna as low as Owego, to say they would remain friends. Some Senecas also came from the friendly towns east of Geneseo. They wished to be reconciled to the English, not having struck the Virginia people. It was more likely the Shawnees. Messengers had not returned from the two towns near the Genesee river. The Caughnawagas sent a belt to the Senecas, saying that, if they forgot the old covenant, they and the Canada Indians would quarrel with them. The friendly Ottawas near Michilimackinac restored some English prisoners.

Teyawarunte, the Onondaga speaker, took the large covenant belt of 1754, repeated the old engagements made thereon, and on behalf of 18 nations brightened and renewed them. After the Canadian conquest Johnson had buried the hatchet under a large pine tree, in a stream of water, that it might no more be found. He now gave them a good English ax to cut off all bad links from the covenant chain.

Sep. 25 he had an express, reporting the tragedy at the Devil's Hole, Niagara, where the Senecas destroyed one party and defeated two companies sent to its relief. The surprise was complete, five officers and 60 privates being killed. Many were thrown over the precipice.

In October Johnson thus set forth the Iroquois land claims to the Lords of Trade:

As Original proprietors, this Confederacy claim the Country of their residence, south of Lake Ontario to the great Ridge of the Blew Mountains, with all the Western part of the province of

New York towards Hudsons River, west of the Caats Kill, thence to Lake Champlain, and from Reghioghne a Rock at the East side of said lake to Oswegatche or La Gattell on the River St. Lawrence (having long since ceded their claims North of said line in favour of the Canada Indians as Hunting ground) thence up the River St. Lawrence and along the South side of Lake Ontario to Niagara.

In right of conquest they claim all the Country (comprehending the Ohio) along the great Ridge of Blew Mountains at the back of Virginia, thence to the head of Kentucke River, and down the same to the Ohio above the Rifts, thence Northerly to the South end of Lake Michigan, thence along the Eastern shore of said lake to Missilimackinac, then easterly across the North end of Lake Huron to the great Ottawa River (including the Chippawae or Mississagey Country) and down the said River to the Island of Montreal. . . their claim to the Ohio, and thence to the Lakes, is not in the least disputed by the Shawanese, Delawares, ettc., who never transacted any Sales of Land or other matters without their consent, and who sent Deputys to the grand Council at Onondaga on all important occasions.

Johnson thought the northern Indians "the most formidable of any uncivilized body of people in the world." The Ottawa confederacy and the Six Nations looked on the northern parts of North America as their sole property, but the latter had suffered from land frauds. The corporation of Albany long before, by intoxicating the Indians, unfairly got a deed of the Mohawk flats at Fort Hunter; and he mentioned other cases likely to make trouble. The great Iroquois grievance was the chain of small forts, made in 1759 and reaching Lake Ontario. These were Fort Schuyler on the Mohawk, the Royal Blockhouse at the east end of Oneida lake, Fort Brewerton and a fort at Oswego Falls. They wished these abandoned according to promise.

Good interpreters were needed to prevent misunderstandings. Missionaries ought to live among them; for, by their holding double cures, the Indians had very few services, with very poor interpreters. Many Mohawks had become quite proficient, reading the liturgy and preaching among themselves. To promote this, he had ordered a new edition of the Mohawk prayer book. The first, founded on the translation of the Rev. Mr Freeman, had been printed in New York in 1715; and the printers now

found trouble from the unusual number of some letters. A still earlier Mohawk book of 16 pages was printed in Boston in 1707. In education, the Rev. Mr Wheelock reported that Joseph Brant and the other Indian boys were doing well. He then had 23 Indians in his school.

Toward the close of this year Johnson made a tabular statement of these confederacies, with the names, numbers and situation of the nations. Of the Six Nations, the Mohawks, Onondagas and Senecas were considered the elder branches, the three others being the younger. The Mohawks had 160 men and two villages on their river, with some emigrants at Schoharie. The Oneidas had two villages; one 25 miles from Fort Stanwix, and the other 12 miles west of (?) Oneida lake, with emigrants in several places toward the Susquehanna. They had 250 men. The Tuscaroras had 140 men, with one village 6 miles from the first Oneidas, and several about the Susquehanna. The Onondagas had 150 men; one large village being 6 miles from Onondaga lake, with a smaller one at some distance. The Cayugas had 200 men, a large village near Cayuga lake, and several thence to the Susquehanna. The Senecas were 1050 men, with several villages, beginning about 50 (?) miles from Cayuga and from thence to Chenussio. The largest was about 70 miles from Niagara, with others thence to the Ohio. Two eastern villages, Kanadasero and Kanaderagey, adhered to the English; the others were in the western confederacy. The Oswegatchies were 80 men, chiefly Onondagas, living at La Galette on the St Lawrence. The Nanticokes and others were southern Indians, removed to the Susquehanna and subject to the Six Nations. In Canada the Mohawk Caughnawagas were 300 men and attached to the English. Others were mentioned. Many of the Iroquois had no fixed residence, and their numbers could not be computed.

In December the Six Nations were in their best mood and ready to join the English against the Ottawa confederacy, partly because the Indians about Detroit had asked for peace and obtained a truce till spring. Lieutenant Governor Colden thought

it would still be wise to punish the troublesome Senecas. They had sent deputies to Johnson with offers of peace, laying the blame on the Delawares and Shawnees. If matters could be arranged, they were ready to join the English and help subdue the authors of the war. The other nations seconded their request, and Johnson favored pacific measures.

He advised that each confederacy should separately guarantee free passage to the English; that the Senecas should give up the Niagara portage; that the French should be sent away from Michilimackinac, Miami etc., and that the Jesuit missions should be abolished for political reasons. He had given the war belt to the Oneidas and Tuscaroras, who heartily received it, and he hoped much from this.

At this time the towns on the Susquehanna had quite a mixed population. Thus in September 1763 a Nanticoke chief brought messages to Philadelphia from "The Oneidas, Tuscaroras, Delawares, and Munseys, living at Onohoquagey; Nanticokes, Conoys, Onondagoes, & Mohickons at Chenango; Cayuga & Munsies at Chokenote."

Dec. 14 six Conestogas were killed and scalped in Pennsylvania by a mob of white men, and a larger mob broke into a workhouse and killed 14 more Dec. 27. On this, the Pennsylvania Council sent 140 Conestogas to New York for safety, but the authorities there refused to receive them and sent them back.

Hostilities continued. In February 1764 Johnson sent several Iroquois parties, numbering about 200, to the forks and branches of the Susquehanna against the enemy. The first party surprised a band of Delawares Feb. 27, at the main branch of the river, who were going against the English. The whole band was taken, and among the 41 prisoners was their chief, Captain Bull, a son of Teedyuscung and an active foe.

Pontiac was still disposed to be hostile at Detroit. Gen. Thomas Gage spoke of him as "a person of extra abilities." He kept two secretaries; one to read letters, and the other to write answers, each being ignorant of what the other did.

Out of the 41 Delaware prisoners, 14 were sent to New York.

The rest were distributed among the friendly Indians to replace deceased relatives. Another small party had equal success, and the alarmed Senecas sent deputies to Johnson, concluding peace with him Ap. 3. They were to deliver up all prisoners, deserters, Frenchmen and negroes among them, and the Indians of Canisteo who murdered the traders in 1762. They also ceded the whole carrying place at Niagara to the English, a tract 14 miles long by 4 wide, and the English were to have free passage through the Seneca country.

Ap. 1, 1764, Captain Montour led 140 Iroquois from Oquaga and found Kanhaughton abandoned. It was the nearest hostile town and had 36 good houses of squared logs, with stone chimneys. They burned this and went up the Cayuga branch, destroying another town of 30 good houses, with four villages. Then they went to Canisteo, where hostilities commenced. It was the largest Delaware town, and they burned 60 good houses, a vast amount of corn, agricultural implements and saddles. Horses and cattle were many but in poor condition. The Delawares fled to the Shawnees and were pursued.

In August Johnson held a council with the western Indians at Niagara, nearly all being represented, with 1700 warriors out of 2060 present. Peace was formally made with the hostile Senecas and with the Hurons of Detroit. Pontiac sent to ask peace. The rest said they were friends already.

Indian education made some progress. The schoolmaster at Canajoharie said the Indians would have their children taught but not chastised by him. The Rev. Mr Wheelock sent David Fowler to settle and teach at Oneida in 1765. The same year the Rev. Samuel Kirkland made a trip to the Seneca town of Kanadesaga at Seneca lake. On the way he stopped at Onondaga, where he had a reception, his guide explaining his mission to Otschiniata, or the Bunt, of whom Kirkland said:

> The venerable old chief replied, and spoke like a Demosthenes, for more than half an hour. He then took me by the hand, and embraced me, kissed one cheek and then the other. I supposed I must return the compliment; I accordingly kissed his red

cheeks, not disgusted at all with the remains of the paint and grease with which they had lately been besmeared. He gave me many blessings while he held me by the hand.

Kirkland had a formal reception by the Senecas and was adopted by the head chief. While among them, he visited Niagara. In some places they treated him "with no more respect than they would shew to a dog."

Johnson had a council with 900 Delawares, Iroquois etc. in April 1765. The Delawares leveled the graves of the English slain, gathering up the scattered bones, burying them under a large pine tree and covering them with a great rock. Johnson replied to them May 2. They had gone through the ceremony of condolence and taken the ax out of the head of the English, but they were women, and he never before knew that women carried an ax; their business being to pound corn. He talked severely to them, but afterward made an amicable arrangement; then for the first time he took them by the hand, and the Six Nations also shook hands with them. At this time partial arrangements were made for a definite boundary line.

Pontiac was still busy; but Johnson thought an interview would set matters right and held a council in July with the Ohio Indians, who signed a peace treaty. The Shawnees also gave up four prisoners who had been adopted into families, a thing very unusual, and would do so with the rest. That summer Col. George Croghan set out for the Illinois. As he was descending the Ohio June 8, some Kickapoos and Maskoutins captured his party, taking him to a village on the Wabash, where he was released with apologies and escorted thence to the Illinois. Near there he met Pontiac, who agreed to yield the French posts, reserving the land, and to go with him to Detroit, where Croghan held a council with the western Indians and dissolved their league with the French. Pontiac and the other chiefs agreed to visit Johnson the following year. In these councils all things were confirmed by pipes and belts. That year Illinois was in the possession of the English, and they had a garrison in Fort Chartres.

Some lawless people again made trouble in 1766 by settling on land beyond Fort Pitt and killing Indians there. In July Johnson had a council at Oswego with Pontiac and chiefs of the Ottawas, Pottawattomies, Hurons and Ojibwas, which he opened with the usual ceremonies, and then caused Pontiac's pipe to be lighted and passed to all present by the interpreter. The Iroquois, who were present, seem to have used the calumet less formally than the southern and western Indians.

On the third day Otschiniata came with some Onondaga warriors, desiring a hearing. They had come back with a Cherokee scalp and gave it to Sir William to be disposed of after they had painted the scalp belt attached to it. He gave them pipes, tobacco and liquor, and they crossed the river and danced all night. The council was held in a bower prepared for the purpose. Teyawarunte, the Onondaga speaker, stood up in the full council afterward and replaced Ganughsadega, former speaker of the Onondagas, in Johnson's name, as he had long ago given a large black belt of wampum for this purpose. The scalp was taken by Karaghiagigo, an Onondaga friend of Sir William.

Pontiac said that all the belts that went northward went by his village and came from the Senecas. It would take long to gather them, and they were more than a man could carry. Only one bad belt had come from him, and he now recalled this from the Six Nations, begging them to return it. "The Onondaga speaker lighted a calumet of peace, which Sir William left in their hands many years ago for that purpose, and handed it about to the Western Indians." He then addressed them on a bunch of wampum, exhorting all to peace. The report that some Onondagas had been killed by the English near Fort Pitt was false, for they were now present. He asked that a Frenchman, now trading there for ginseng, might be allowed to live among the Onondagas and Oneidas, or on Oneida lake. The Onondagas liked no troublesome belts, and none such should come to their town or council; they therefore left the withdrawal of Pontiac's belt to the Senecas, Cayugas and Oneidas. That chief promised continued friendship and peace.

After his return west, Pontiac received French and Spanish belts to engage him against the English, but told the Indians he would stand fast to his agreement with Johnson.

Chapter 21

More Tuscaroras come north. Royal grant. Boundary. Traders. Instruction. Dissatisfaction. Johnson in the Onondaga country. Murders of Indians. Peace between Cherokees and Six Nations. Land grants settled. Boundary treaty at Fort Stanwix. Johnson in the Iroquois country. Council at Shamokin. Seneca George. Council at German Flats. Dearth. Reproof of western Indians. Scioto council.

Some Tuscarora chiefs went to North Carolina in the spring of 1766, with an interpreter, and brought thence 160 of their people. Some came the following winter and were alarmed at the deep snow. They brought certificates of good behavior from the magistrates of all the districts through which they passed, but their lives were in danger from lawless people, so that they had to be protected. The worst place was Paxton Pa., where they were robbed of several horses, and they complained to Johnson. Some stopped for a time at Shamokin and Wyalusing on the Susquehanna. That year Zeisberger made his last visits to Onondaga and Cayuga, obtaining a grant of land for the Moravian Indians at and above Wyalusing.

At this time Johnson applied for the tract afterward called the Royal Grant, north of the Mohawk and near Canajoharie. He said he had obtained but a small amount of Indian land and had paid full value for all. This would seem to dispose of his "dreaming" with Hendrick, even if this were not in itself improbable, Hendrick having no personal power to give or sell land. That belonged to the Council or individual owners, usually requiring the assent of the three clans. There is, however, a legal reference to the "dreamland" purchase, as it was sometimes called.

In May 1767 Johnson had a council with the Six Nations at German Flats, at the request of Pennsylvania and Maryland, to get their consent to running the division line of these colonies over the Allegheny mountains. He effected this. The Iroquois also agreed to make peace with the Cherokees when their deputies arrived. He wrote of several matters at this time. Traders with

the Indians should be under stricter regulations. He had always relied on a few approved chiefs of the several nations, whom he had known for 20 years and who had never deceived him. These were now alarmed at the state of his health and they were also growing old. Some of these nations were increasing, having been long at peace, and they were warriors, too, whereas the English were traders. Many of these traders pushed into the heart of the country, and this might lead to trouble. They wanted traders, but honest ones, and these they could not always have. There was dissatisfaction among them; and, unless he could do them justice, evil might follow. The death of the principal Seneca chief, who was attached to the English, might remove a bar to "the discontent amongst these jealous and troublesome people." To ascertain the exact condition of affairs, he would at once visit the Onondaga country, under pretense of a tour for health.

The best channel for religious instruction to the Indians, he thought, was through the Six Nations, but practically there was no missionary in these. The one at Albany preached to the Mohawks occasionally; but, if some had not been able to read the books given them by Johnson, in their language, they would have been almost strangers to Christianity. The New England Society had sent some young persons, some of them in orders, to Oneida and Onoghquaga and one to the Senecas, but these had little success. Distinctions in religion perplexed the Indians. They liked pomp and ceremony in worship, and mistakes had been made in trying to abolish at once innocent dances, rejoicings at weddings, etc. Both discretion and ability were necessary for successful missionary work among them.

Johnson returned from Onondaga in October. Things did not look favorable there. At a council the Indians brought up their many grievances, and the French were busy among them. The Onondagas did not wish to be hostile, but would not answer for any one, injured as they were. Bad belts and messages were daily sent among them. The Senecas and Mississagas quarreled at the Niagara portage, and Norman Mac Clod, commissary of

Indian affairs, who was there, sent to Castesh, (Guastarax) chief of the Senecas, to inform him of this. He came and desired liquor-selling stopped for the time being, which was done. He said the Senecas would hold to the English, but there were bad belts everywhere, and he could not answer for all. His party then went off and became drunk, returning in a few days.

Aug. 24 Mac Clod was informed of bad belts passing and sent to two Seneca chiefs to know about them. They said the belts had not stopped at their village, but had gone to the Oneidas and might return. There were two, but they seemed harmless. They had been seen at Totieronno at the head of Cayuga lake. The old women of the Senecas had stopped their young men from going to war. Castesh was an old rogue and had the bad belt when he was at the Niagara council. It was very large.

Before he returned in October Johnson spent three weeks at Oneida lake. There he met the Indians at Tuscarora creek, who "were greatly affected at the death of a remarkable chief of the Onondagas," and he "was obliged to perform all the ceremony on that occasion."

The Cherokee deputies arrived at the end of 1767 and met 760 Iroquois at Johnson Hall Mar. 3, 1768. All the latter were very discontented and had nearly turned back on account of some cruel murders in Pennsylvania. A white man there had six Indians in his house, who became drunk and troublesome, and he killed them all. The next day he and his servant went to a cabin 14 miles away, killed four more and burned them and the house. Being arrested, he was set free from jail by the riotous inhabitants. The Assembly voted money to appease the Indians, but Johnson at first had small hopes of doing this.

The Cherokees went through the usual condolence and buried the hatchet, but did not take it out of the heads of the English. Johnson reproved them for this, and they apologized and repaired the omission next day. Mar. 5 the Six Nations were long in assembling; and because of this the Cherokees refused "to open their embassy from a superstitious notion that, as it was noon, the day was too far advanced for a work of peace, according

to the opinion of the southern nations." The Iroquois had many similar ideas of a suitable time, but agreed to meet earlier next day.

The Cherokees were introduced by Johnson next morning, and Oucanastota, a great Cherokee chief who had been in England, "stood up, ranged all his belts, calumets of peace, etc., in order," and then spoke. He had come from Chotté, at the forks of the Tellico and Little Tennessee rivers, "where the Wise House, the House of Peace is erected." It was long since the sachem of Chotté made peace with the Onondagas, and he was now dead, but they remembered the talk yet. Oucanastota made eloquent addresses on 11 belts and three strings. One for Sir William had a calumet and eagle's tail attached.

Next day the council met outdoors, that all the warriors might hear the reply to the Cherokees, who were addressed as younger brothers. The Six Nations had come to meet them, after the manner of their "ancestors, whose kettle was always ready, with their packs and seven men allotted to each canoe, and with a good stick in their hands, ready to chastise evil doers." The speech continued:

As we are your Elder Brothers, and consequently have more understanding than you, we must tell you that you have not done thereon as you ought. You have not cleared the road of rubbish according to the form you ought to have observed, neither have you taken the hatchet out of our heads. We now take it, and put it on one side.

Mar. 8, the Six Nations and the Caughnawagas being desirous to condole the Mohawks on the death of a chief before other business,

Conoghquieson of Oneida, on behalf of the three younger Branches of the Confederacy, namely, the Oneidas, Tuscaroras and Cayugas, went through the whole ceremony of condolance with the Elder Branches, namely the Mohawks, Onondagas and Cenecas, which done, the latter, by the Speaker of Onondaga, in a set speech, gave them thanks for their Condolence, and for their adherence to the Customs of their forefathers.

A peace was concluded and signed between the Cherokees and Six Nations, and satisfaction was made for the Pennsylvania

murders. A small hatchet still out against the Cherokees would be called back. Etiquette ruled on this occasion, and Tagawarra, a chief warrior of the Oneidas, rose to correct some errors of the sachems. Some bones of the Iroquois and the Cherokees might lie along the road both were now to travel. He said: "We therefore now collect the bones of both people, and after the manner of our ancestors, we inter them in a deep pit, so that the water shall carry them away, forever from our sight."

Johnson took a severe cold while attending this open air council and went to the seashore for his health Ap. 24, leaving Guy Johnson in charge of affairs. The necessary belts were sent for the boundary conference, but it could not be held before September. Indian affairs westward looked bad, and bad belts had come to the Six Nations. In August, however, Governor Moore was able to settle the 60 years dispute about the Kayaderosseras patent; the patentees releasing part of the land claimed to the Indians, and the Indians giving up the surveyed portions on the receipt of $5000. In an earlier visit to the Mohawk country, Governor Moore examined the carrying place at Little Falls, surveying that ground with a view to making a canal there and avoiding a portage. This he would recommend to the Assembly. The carrying places afforded a considerable revenue to Indians disposed to work.

In September Johnson went to Fort Stanwix for the boundary conference. The Indians came in slowly; but by Oct. 1 there were 805 there. Those of most consequence had not come, a Seneca chief having died suddenly, whom it was necessary to condole in that country. This delay occasioned great expense, as by Oct. 14 there were 930 Indians present, each of whom ate more than two ordinary white men, and did not like to be stinted at councils. Worse than this, there were private belts passing among them and all sorts of stories. Those who had been most desirous of a boundary line now cared least for it. The French and Spaniards had given a formal invitation to a general Indian council at the Mississippi, and this might make trouble.

Johnson opened the council at Fort Stanwix Oct. 24, nearly 3000 Indians being present. He settled the boundary question, conceding the Six Nations' right to the land south to the Cherokee river, and they ceded this to the king. The Cherokees never claimed west of the Great mountains or north of that river; but the Six Nations always maintained their claim. The line followed the Ohio river up to Kittanning, above Pittsburg; thence east to the west branch of the Susquehanna and along this to Tiadaghton creek; thence northeast along Burnett's hills to Awandoe creek, and down this to the Susquehanna. It followed that river to Owego, and then ran due east to the Delaware, ascending that stream to a point due south of Tianderra or Unadilla creek, and thence to that stream. The line ran nearly north from that point to Canada creek, an affluent of Wood creek. The country north and east still belonged to the Oneidas and Mohawks and might be bought at any time. The presents cost £10,460, 7s, 3d.

At this time the lines between the Mohawks and Stockbridges were mutually adjusted, and the latter went home before the council opened. The Mohawks were styled the true old heads of the confederacy, and signed the deed first of all. The signatures and devices are each six in number. Tyorhansere alias Abraham made a steel for the Mohawks, Canaghquieson a tree for the Oneidas, Sequarusera a cross for the Tuscaroras, Otsinoghiyata alias Bunt a hill for the Onondagas, Tegaaia a pipe for the Cayugas, and Guastrax a high hill for the Senecas.

At the opening of the council Johnson performed the usual ceremonies. "The nations gave the Yo-hah at the proper places, and the ceremony of condolence" ended. Besides New York, there were present representatives of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Virginia. Governor Franklin, of New Jersey received the name of Sagorighweyoghsta, Great Doer of Justice, because he had caused some murderers of Indians to be executed.

Johnson gave the covenant chain belt, with human figures at each end. The Rev. Mr Wheelock obstructed but did not prevent the cession of New York lands. Johnson offered to have

Fort Ontario, at Oswego, evacuated or put on the same footing with Fort Stanwix. The Indians answered that it might stay and the others also, so long as they were civilly treated at them.

The next year he went to Onondaga, arriving there July 10, 1769. The chiefs of that nation and neighboring villages were in great need of corn from a failure of their crops. Before the public council he held several private conferences with chiefs in their hunting cabins. Returning late one night, his canoe upset, and in ascending the bank he hurt his wounded leg. When a little easier, he held a council. Then he went to Cayuga and met 500 Indians, and thence to the Senecas, where he met 2000 more. While he was there, word came that some Cherokees were on their way to Onondaga to attend a general council in September. These chiefs afterward spoke with 20 belts, desiring to renew and strengthen their alliance. During his stay with the Senecas Indians came from several nations with belts of union etc. At this time Johnson reported 2000 warriors among the Six Nations. His edition of the Mohawk prayer book was finished that year, 400 copies being printed, and few surviving the war.

There was a council at Shamokin Pa. that year, which illustrated in several ways the effect of religious teaching on the Six Nations, desultory as it had been:

Sunday, August 20, 1769.—The Indians having understood that Doctor Smith was to have Divine Service to White People assembled at the Fort, Seneca George sent Notice that his People worshipped the same God with the English, and would attend Divine Service, which they did accordingly, with great Decency, and Isaac Still interpreted the Conclusion of the Discourse, which was particularly addressed to them.

The chief's son had been shot in July by a nephew of Conrad Weiser, and Frederick Weiser spoke of this in the council.

Seneca George was much affected when the matter was brought up and said, "He was all the Child I had; and now I am old, the loss of him hath almost entirely cut away my Heart, but I am yet pleased my Brother Weiser, the Son of my old Friend, has taken this Method to dry my Tears.

He made a most affecting speech expressing his forgiveness, ending by saying to all present, while extending his arms:

"Nor have I any ill-will to any of you, my Brethren the English." That manly Spirit of Forgiveness and Reconciliation which Seneca George showed on this Occasion, by his Looks, Gesture, and whole Action, made some of those at the Table cry out as he ran up, holding out his hand to them, "This is Noble," for here his Speech stood in need of no Interpretation.

Joseph Chew wrote to Johnson about missionary work and settlements among the Six Nations, and said:

Numbers of the Saints have applied to me. I informed them that I heard the Seneca and Onondaga sachems say none of them should come amongst them, until the Oneidas grew better and reformed their manners.

In July 1770 Johnson had a great Indian congress at German Flats. It was a time of very great scarcity, caterpillars having devoured the crops, while in the Indian country many fields were entirely ruined. There were other adverse circumstances, for farther south the whites still wantonly killed Indians and made trouble in many ways. Some Algonquins came to this congress and told him that seven canoes of Ojibwas were at Oswego, on their way.

The Bunt and the Onondaga speaker waited on Sir William and told him that Diaquanda, their head warrior, had refused to attend to business and had encamped with another nation. As he was the particular friend of Johnson, the latter soon persuaded him to do better. During the treaty 2320 Indians were present, and it was difficult to feed all these in a time of dearth. The Cherokees sent seven deputies, desiring peace, and Johnson urged this, but most of the Iroquois wished for war. Yet they consented to make no war on the southern Indians unless they were troublesome. The Mohawks said they were now Christians and had a church, but were neglected, having no minister. All the nations said Yo-hah to the covenant chain, and the council broke up pleasantly, several private conferences following. That year the Rev. John Stuart took charge of the Mohawk mission and was thorough and successful, living on the spot.

During the council the Six Nations presented the address they would send to the Piankashaws, Kickapoos and other western Indians. Their messengers would inform them of the peace between the Iroquois and the Cherokees, and of the good understanding with the English. The Iroquois were surprised at their conduct to them and to the English traders going to the Illinois. They were out of their senses, and the Six Nations took them by the head, shaking them so as to restore their wits and taking the hatchet from their hands because they did mischief. If they proved obstinate, there would be war, and with war, ruin.

In the autumn of 1770 a great Indian congress met at Scioto in Ohio, intended for a stricter union among the Indians. It ended in general resolutions for peace among all, introductory to a firm alliance between the northern and southern nations for some purpose not made known. Johnson opposed this council but could not prevent it. His deputies from the council at German Flats met the Indians from Scioto at Fort Pitt in December, and summoned them to reassemble at Scioto, when they would communicate the resolutions agreed to at German Flats and on which they had over 100 belts. He had great confidence in several of these deputies and hoped to defeat anything dangerous.

In July 1771 he held a council with 350 of the Six Nations, on a report that they were stirring up the Shawnees, Delawares and others to war on the English. They denied it, but he gave his authority, and this brought explanations. Then he thought there was reason to distrust only the Senecas on the Ohio and at Geneseo. The Indians themselves examined those present from the farthest castle, who said that any remaining evil must have come from Guastarax, chief of the Senecas, who was now under ground but had been a bad and troublesome man. In the late Indian war he secretly sent a belt hatchet to the Shawnees and others, that he would remove the door of the Six Nations from his village of Geneseo to Scioto plains, and he wished them to help him fight his way there. The Senecas then disavowed his acts. As his cunning was now well known, they thought it likely he had

sent belts to the Ohio, an instance having just come to light. Some of these belts might still remain, though most were disregarded. If any secret hatchet remained still with the Ohio Indians, they desired to take it away and bury it forever.

Chapter 22

Indian customs and language. Mohawk missions and books. Shawnees at Scioto. Death of Thomas King. Second Scioto council. Bad belts. Three notices before war. Trouble with pioneers. Guy Johnson to be Sir William's successor. Council at Johnson's. Logan's family killed. Seneca prisoners released. Death of Sir William. Condolence. Council with Guy Johnson. Bunt's successor. Kayashuta. Union belt. Iroquois emigrants. Religious troubles.

In that year Johnson gave Arthur Lee an interesting account of the customs and language of the Indians. The nearer tribes had lost many of their old customs, blending some English with others, so that it was difficult to trace them back or account for them. Some farther off had been affected by intercourse with traders, but retained many customs whose origin was forgotten. The most remote had most of their primitive usages, but could give only fabulous accounts of them. These also confounded ideas and ceremonies introduced by the Jesuits with their own ancient rites.

The Mohawks were still considered the head of the Six Nations, though greatly reduced. At present they had more to do with the English than with their own brethren. They were members of the Church of England, most of them read and some could write very well. Sometimes they made a cross in signing a deed; but, if it were of importance, they made a steel, used in striking fire from a flint. This symbol of their nation they called *Canniah,* and themselves Canniungaes.

The Oneidas came next, also much reduced. Attempts had been made to civilize and convert them, but most were in a primitive state, with ancient customs much decayed. One of their symbols was a tree expressing stability, but their true emblem was a stone, called *Onoya,* whence they called themselves Onoyuts. The Onondagas, 40 miles farther, well versed in ancient customs, called themselves People of the Great Mountain.

The Cayugas, 40 miles beyond, had a pipe for their symbol. The Senecas were the farthest and most numerous of the Iroquois, with several towns and symbols, of which little could be understood.

The sachem's authority was greatest in the most distant nations. Nearer by he had but little. Sachems were usually chosen in public assemblies, but some had office by inheritance. The chief sachem was often called king.

The Indians north of the St Lawrence, west of the Great lakes, on the New England coast and in Ohio, spoke a language radically the same and could communicate; while the Six Nations in their midst could not convey a single idea to them, or speak a word of their language correctly. They had no letters, but used hieroglyphics, of which he gave instances. Red was a sign of war; castles were square white figures; alliances were shown by human figures holding a belt; a hatchet meant war; and their totems showed their names or clans.

The Rev. Charles Inglis had visited Johnson in 1770, and in 1771 wrote a memorial to the British prime minister on converting and civilizing the Indians, to which Guy Johnson added a map of their country, having many interesting features. The memorial embodied much of Johnson's own experience and ideas. Inglis had this "copied out fair in a good hand, and in a quarto size; and having a marble cover, with Col. Johnson's accurate map prefixed, it made a handsome looking pamphlet."

Meanwhile the Rev. Mr Stuart was preaching acceptably to the English, Dutch and Mohawks, and acquiring the Mohawk language. The following winter he visited Joseph Brant at Canajoharie, who afterward lived with him and aided in new translations and revisions. When they had finished the Gospel of St Mark, part of the Acts, a short history of the Bible, an explanation of the catechism, and some additions to the Mohawk prayer book, Stuart had orders to have them printed in New York at the expense of the S. P. G. The Revolution prevented this, but he took the manuscripts to Canada and gave them to Col. Daniel Claus, who afterward took them to England. Part of

these became the prayer book of 1787, which also included the Gospel of St Mark.

Two of the Iroquois deputies to the Scioto council died on their way home, and they were the principal ones. The others showed Sir William a number of belts and calumets and told him all they could. They had talked first with the Shawnees at Fort Pitt, and they said the Wawiaghtanons would soon send deputies to the Six Nations and Johnson. At the council they blamed the Shawnees for going so far down the Ohio and confederating with unfriendly Indians. All the belts sent were faithfully rendered. Nickaroondase was the principal survivor of those who went to Scioto that year.

The Shawnees replied to this reproof that the Six Nations had long seemed to neglect them, and to forget their promise of land between the Ohio and the lakes. So they started to seek their fortunes in their canoes, but were stopped by the Iroquois at Scioto, shaken by the head and fixed there, with a charge to live at peace with the English. Soon after they were surprised at seeing the Six Nations in arms and coasting along the lake with the English. When the war was over the ill treatment of the Iroquois increased, and they sent belts to strengthen the union, but supposed they had not reached them. They showed emblematic belts, representing them and the Illinois, with 10 confederate nations between them. They were answered by a true statement of the case and were told to come to Onondaga. On this they excused their acts and promised that they and their allies would be peaceable.

Sep. 24, 1771, some Cayugas and Tuscaroras were in Philadelphia, their speaker being Cheahogah, a Cayuga chief. Cawandaghsaw brought a letter from Charleston S. C., dated Sep. 6, saying that Da-ya-gough-de-re-sesh, or Thomas King, had died there of fever the day before. The Indian had 20 belts and many strings given to King by southern Indians.

In April 1772 Johnson had notice of another general meeting at Scioto to impart the sentiments of the Six Nations to those not at the last council. He took care that delegates from the

north were reliable men. The Shawnees, he said, had no title to the north side of the Ohio where they lived, "having been often moved from place to place by the Six Nations." When this council met the Piankashaws, Kickapoos and Wabash Indians did not attend because the Six Nations had killed some of their people the year before. The absentees were reproved, and messages were sent them. The bad belts sent by Guastarax, the Seneca chief, were called for, but had been stopped by the Cherokees. Other bad belts were produced, one of them being a French belt, among the largest Johnson had ever seen.

Those present promised to come to Onondaga and bring all the belts, but were not there at the appointed time. Johnson proposed they should bring the Ohio Senecas nearer home. There were difficulties. Traders needed regulating, and frontiersmen were lawless and troublesome. A secret alliance was in progress in the southwest, and with a view to this some Shawnees and Delawares proposed sending a deputation to England, to say that the Six Nations were unfriendly to them and ask to be freed from their rule.

The latter sent to require their emigrants to live nearer home and then called a council at Onondaga, which was held the next winter, where they convinced the Senecas of their misconduct. It was of the utmost importance to have the friendship of the Iroquois in case of war, for they could be the best of friends or most dangerous of enemies. This was particularly so with the Senecas, whose belts had done harm.

In 1773 the Six Nations said they had summoned the Piankashaws and other troublesome western nations to the great fireplace at Onondaga: "We have already called upon them twice, and agreeably to our ancient customs shall do so the third time, before we strike." They objected to being called to account for the death of every lawless trader. The French were more reasonable.

Johnson again complained of the pioneers, who generally had a prejudice against all Indians, and the Indians were disposed to retaliate. So some of the upper Senecas had killed four French-

men on Lake Ontario, making light of it till told they were British subjects. Then they came to Johnson, proposing to cover their graves, but he insisted they should give up the murderers, which they promised to do. The notorious George Klock had long been hiding from officers of the law and had lately a great quarrel with the Canajoharie chiefs. Then he got three young Mohawks to go with him to a seaport, on their way to England.

In April 1774 Sir William nominated Col. Guy Johnson, his son-in-law, as his successor at his death, agreeably to the wish of the Six Nations. The same month he had a council with 260 Iroquois, who delivered up two Senecas concerned in the murder of the four Frenchmen, though this was opposed to their ancient customs. As this was the first instance of the kind, he thought it would be good policy to discharge the offenders soon. It was at this time that Governor Tryon reckoned the Six Nations as 10,000 souls and 2000 warriors.

In June 1774 occurred the murder of Logan's family, popularly ascribed to Colonel Cresap at the time. Three of Shikellimy's sons survived him, all being Cayugas, because their mother was of that nation, though their father was an Oneida chief. The eldest was Taghneghtoris, or John Shikellimy, who succeeded his father for a time. The second was Soyeghtowa, or James Logan, the unfortunate chief whose eloquent speech Thomas Jefferson so highly praised. The youngest was Sagogehyata, or John Petty, having the same Indian name as Red Jacket, a favorite one with the Cayugas. The murdered people having many relatives in New York, a strong feeling was aroused, though the war was confined to Virginia, Logan himself refraining from harming his early Pennsylvania friends.

The Six Nations asked Johnson to release the two young Senecas, which he hoped to do, and which the king soon commanded. One died before release and was condoled July 9, a council having assembled at Johnson Hall that month. Sir William held several conferences at this time; and the Indians promised for themselves and their head women, who had much influence with the

young men, to keep them quiet. They acceded to the request of the Montauks and would settle them at Canowaroghere, now Oneida Castle. They received them as children and hoped they would prove worthy.

The Cayugas wished no more rum sold in their country. Traders might pass through but must not stop. Sir William addressed the council on the Shawnees and the Cresap and Logan trouble. He was very weak at this time and the fatigue was too much. Two hours after the conference, on the 11th, he died, and he was placed in the family vault at Johnstown July 13, 1774.

So sudden a loss at so critical a time had a startling effect, and the Indians were at once in great doubt and confusion. Swift runners were given belts and sent to all the nations to announce his death; but Col. Guy Johnson was equal to the occasion, and order was quickly restored. All the Indians remained to attend his funeral, with the 2000 people from the country around. Next day the customary ceremony of condolence was performed, and the council soon broke up.

The Shawnees and their confederates sent to the western Indians to join them against the Virginians, but some refused. They applied to the Six Nations at Onondaga, but Guy Johnson had messengers there before them, and the Shawnees were told not to expect aid, but the Iroquois would soon hold a council and take peace measures which all would regard.

In September 235 Iroquois chiefs and warriors had a conference with Guy Johnson, and among these were their best men. They went through formal condolences, the Bunt being very eloquent. Teyawarunte, the Onondaga speaker, with three strings covered the grave, wiped away tears, removed grief, cleared the sky, etc. The Bunt's oldest son produced the several marks of Johnson's regard for him, and according to old custom laid them down before Colonel Johnson, who restored them. Others did the same. They renewed the old covenant chain of 21 rows, and gave Guy Johnson a new name, Uraghquadirha, Rays of the Sun enlightening the Earth. Goragh was often added to

this in speeches, meaning great. Joseph Chew, secretary of Indian affairs, had the name of Decariaderoga, Junction of Two Lakes of Different Qualities.

They were trying to recall their people and prevent war, but few had come back. They had also found a large black belt with two axes on it, given to an Oneida by the French at the close of the late war. When the French raised themselves, the belt would shake, and the Oneida must be ready to strike for them. He had kept this secret till his death, and now his wife wished to take the belt apart for the sake of the wampum. Johnson readily bought the belt.

The Onondagas, considering the great age of the Bunt, Sir William Johnson's friend, had nominated "Onagogare who is to succeed the Bunt at Chenughivata." This seems meant for alias Chenughivata, one form of the name of Otschiniata. There were other changes. Deputies had come to Onondaga from 18 western nations to say they would abide by the decisions of the council there. When the Shawnees came there in August, they demanded aid in full form. They would not accept a belt of peace but demanded a hatchet to strike the English, "which so enraged King Bunt that he threw their belt back with great resentment."

Kayashuta, a Seneca chief in Ohio, had been very useful in peace measures, and carried a call for a council at Onondaga in November. It opened Nov. 5 with a full attendance, and the Shawnee affair was at once taken up, each nation declaring its opinion and agreeing to maintain peace. The whole message to the Shawnees was vigorous, as an extract will show:

We have been twice here to advise you to peace, but you have not attended, and in compliance with our ancient customs, we are come the third time to tell you, you must be at peace, this is the third time, & the last that you shall hear from us if you do not hearken to us. . . Leave the business of War, repent and mind peace alone and then you will be preserved. Quarrelsome people are dangerous, we advise you for your good, for we pity you. . . Mind our words, they are strong, they are words of the Six Nations, who are the heads of the Confederacy; all the Northern nations have left their Belts in our hands and

refered themselves intirely to our Government and determination, they have joined their words to us, who are the head of the whole, and you now see them all in us here present.

The Six Nations were indeed alarmed at the invasion of the Shawnees' country by Virginia; and, though the Shawnees handled their foes severely, a real defeat and this stern answer left them no hope. Happily for all, the war was soon over and was forgotten in the stirring events which followed.

The great union belt, given them before the last war, and which had always lain at the Onondaga council fire, was now placed at the western door of the league, among the Senecas. Another belt, now given by Colonel Johnson, they would place carefully among their great belts at Onondaga, often looking at it that they might forget no part.

In January 1775 the Iroquois chiefs came to Colonel Johnson on important business. The Shawnees had sent a message telling of their treaty with Virginia, and a statement that that province intended to quarrel with the Six Nations, on which they were invited to a council on the Ohio in the spring. The Oneidas also said that the Rev. Mr Kirkland reported that the king would allow no more goods to be sent to the colonies or Indians, and powder would soon be very high. They did not like this, as things were already dear. The Indians would decline the invitation to this council, but would call the Shawnees to one in New York.

Just as the conference closed some Shawnees came with a second message that seven Senecas were condemned to death at Fort Pitt, having lived with the Shawnees and taken their part. The Iroquois blamed their conduct, but asked Johnson's interposition. He said they were held only as hostages till their Scioto friends should lay down their arms. They had been so long estranged that the Six Nations need not interest themselves, but consider them as wrongdoers. The Seneca chief, Kayashuta, had applied to the governor of Virginia in their behalf, as they were connections of some principal chiefs. Two were released and the irons taken from the rest.

There were some religious troubles. The Oneidas complained of the Congregational minister's refusal to baptize their children, and the Oquagas had a similiar complaint. Their minister excused his conduct and said most of the chiefs and all the Tuscaroras wished him to remain. Colonel Johnson did not want to interfere in religious matters, but said Old Isaac might read the service, as he did it well, till they had another minister. The Tuscaroras ought not to dictate, as they were newcomers.

Chapter 23

Protestant missions. Church of England. Congregationalist. Schools. Failures in education. Iroquois loyal to the king. Asked to act for him. Colonel Johnson leaves home for Montreal. Council at Oswego. Americans confer with Six Nations. Fire-keepers chosen. Brant in England. Indians divided. Sir John Johnson leaves home. Iroquois at Philadelphia. Indian aid. Return of Brant. Efforts to take him. His personal appearance. Brant's movements. Herkimer's interview. Indians hostile. St Leger's expedition. Presents. Fort Stanwix besieged. Battle of Oriskany. St Leger's retreat. Reported burning of Indian towns. The Susquehanna deserted.

Before entering on the troubles of the Revolution, a brief sketch may be given of the early Protestant missions among the Iroquois.

Dominie Megapolensis began his work at Albany about 1642, serving six years irregularly, preaching in the neighborhood and making some converts. The Indians were pleased to hear he intended going into "their own country and castles (about three days' journey farther inland) when acquainted with their language." He befriended Jogues.

Governor Dongan wished English priests among the Iroquois. Dominie Dellius was among the Mohawks before 1691, baptizing many. The Rev. Bernardus Freeman, of Schenectady, reported 35 Mohawk Christians in 1701, and translated into Mohawk the Athanasian creed, the Ten Commandments and part of the prayer book, these being published in New York in 1715.

The Church of England now tried to do something and a clergyman was proposed for each of the Six Nations, with two lay helpers for each one, but this was not fully carried out. The Rev. Mr Smith and the Rev. Thoroughgood Moor were sent

from England, the latter remaining for three years. The Rev. Thomas Barclay succeeded him, remaining from 1708 to 1712, and was followed by the Rev. William Andrews, staying three years more. He reported over 60 regular attendants and 38 communicants. He had a church and school at Fort Hunter, and went also to Oneida, far to the west. The work was discouraging, and, when he left it in 1718, he said: "Heathen they are, and heathen they will still be."

In 1731 the Rev. John Miln, of Albany, was to visit the Mohawks quarterly, staying five days each time. By him the Rev. Henry Barclay was appointed catechist at Fort Hunter, who reported 58 communicants in 1741. Two years later there were few unbaptized. In 1750 the Rev. John Ogilvie went periodically to the Mohawks from Albany, "amid great discouragements and in the very outskirts of civilization." The Rev. John Jacob Oel was his assistant, laboring at Canajoharie and among the Oneidas and Tuscaroras. The Rev. Henry Munro also did some work among the Mohawks previous to 1770, when the Rev. John Stuart became a resident missionary, giving all his time to the work, which was interrupted by the war. Before it was over he went to Canada.

The Rev. John Sergeant, a Congregationalist, had founded an Indian mission at Stockbridge Mass., in 1736, visiting the Susquehanna in 1744. The Rev. David Brainerd came to the same valley for a short time, and it has been thought that he visited Oquaga in 1745. The Rev. Elihu Spencer went there in 1748, remaining till the next spring and translating the Lord's Prayer. Two of his converts were Peter Agwrondougwas, or Good Peter, and Isaac Dakayenensese. The former was an eloquent Oneida chief, and both sometimes conducted public services.

There were 55 students in Timothy Woodbridge's Indian school at Stockbridge in 1753, some being from Oquaga. That year Gideon Hawley and Woodbridge went to that place, visiting Johnson on the way. Woodbridge did not remain long and Hawley returned in 1756, on account of the war, a fort being built there that year. After his departure Good Peter carried on mis-

sion work alone, preaching at Oquaga and elsewhere. The Rev. Eli Forbes went there in 1762, with the Rev. Asaph Rice. They returned in 1763. In that year Samuel Ashpo spent six weeks at Otsiningo.

In 1761 the Rev. Samson Occum went from the school at Lebanon to Oneida, and Samuel Kirkland visited the Mohawk valley, being then quite young. His later work in New York began in 1764, when he left Joseph Woolley as teacher at Oquaga in November and then went to the Senecas, remaining there till 1766. Among the Oneidas and Mohawks 127 were then attending school. After leaving the Senecas, Kirkland for a time alternated between Oquaga and the Mohawk valley. At a later day his public services were of inestimable value.

The Rev. Messrs C. J. Smith and Theophilus Chamberlain were at Oquaga in the fall of 1764, and in 1769 that place had been served for three years by the Rev. Eleazar Moseley, followed by the Rev. Peter and Henry Avery. Aaron Crosby was there in 1771, and in 1774 had trouble with the Indians from his refusal to use the liturgy or to baptize some children.

While others testified to a great advance, as there certainly had been, the scholarly Dr Wheelock was greatly disappointed in the results of the education of Indians. After telling all he had taught them, he said: "Some who on account of their parts and learning bid the fairest for usefulness, are sunk down as low, savage and brutish in manner of living as they were before any endeavours were used to raise them up."

Space will not permit enlarging on the frequent failures in Indian education, caused by following theories and disregarding the advice of practical men, acquainted with the situation. At this time the action of the Oquagas indicates part of the advance already made:

They would in order to restore peace in their town, enter into a general resolution to abide by the Liturgy printed in the Indian language; that they had reason to believe the Missionary would conform to it, in which case they would let him stay, otherwise they would use the Liturgy themselves till a proper person could be provided.

The chiefs now agreed to send through their nations to tell them to look to the king as their true protector and shun all evil advice. They chose a Mohawk and an Oneida, who would ask the Bunt at Onondaga to send two of his family with them. Colonel Johnson approved, and sent a "belt with a particular message from himself to the Onondaga fire-place."

He had a council with some Cayuga chiefs and other Iroquois Feb. 28. The opening was simple. "The Cayuga chief began with the usual salutation of the warriors, who being, as he observed, a plain people, would use but few words." He related the resolution passed at Onondaga and the refusal of the Cayugas to take the western ax. They feared seven Cayugas had joined the Shawnees, but they did not, and brought three white strings from "the great plains" to remind the Iroquois that they had not attended to messages thence. Four short strings of black wampum came also "from another warrior from Canundageh, on this side of the great plains, on behalf of three nations," exhorting them to mind their true interests. This was not the Canandaigua of New York, but one in Ohio, the emigrating Iroquois carrying local names with them. The Hurons and their eight confederate nations sent peace strings, and were invited to the next Iroquois council.

Just after they left, 32 Indians came from Otsiningo or Chenango, and elsewhere. They were "chiefs of the two tribes at Chenango, the Chughnuts, Owego, and Tioga, being five several nations." They gave congratulations, but complained of the boundary. Producing a map, Johnson showed how the mistake came. It affected four villages, but would be considered, and all would be satisfied. It was a time of good promises. In July King George ordered Colonel Johnson, in consequence of the rebellion, "to lose no time in taking such steps as may induce the Six Nations to take up the hatchet against His Majesty's rebellious subjects in America."

May 14 Colonel Johnson heard that the Americans were coming to arrest him and fortified himself. He said his Indian expresses were stopped, messages altered and provisions detained,

so he resolved to move westward, starting in June with 250 Mohawks and armed white men. At Fort Stanwix he had a conference with 260 Oneidas and Oquagas, whom he had to leave, the whole country being in arms behind him. He sent to Niagara and Oswegatchie for supplies, and held another council at Ontario, or Oswego, of which Stone made two places by mistaking the names. At that place he had 1458 Indians and about 100 white men. With some difficulty he secured the aid of the former, and left Oswego for Montreal July 11, reaching there July 17 with 220 Indians. Joseph Brant was then his secretary.

There was a council at Montreal July 26, with 1664 Canadian Indians, who promised aid and were placed in different camps. Little was done, and on Aug. 12 some of the Six Nations and St Regis Indians "returned with their War Belt to Onondaga, after assuring Col. Johnson they would be ready to return whenever there was a prospect of vigorous measures." Desultory hostilities followed, and a message came from "the Six Nations that the rebells had employ'd Agents to negociate a treaty with the Caughnawagas."

The commissioners of the 12 united colonies had a brief conference with the chiefs and warriors of the Six Nations at German Flats, Aug. 15, 1775. Two commissioners came, inviting them to meet the other three at Albany, to rekindle the fire their ancestors had placed there. As some were not present, they were to invite them, and also the Caughnawagas and the seven towns on the St Lawrence. This belt was declined, and seems the one now belonging to the Douw family at Poughkeepsie. After the business was opened, an Oneida answered: "The day is far spent, and we defer a reply till to-morrow, as we are weary from having sat long in council. We think it time for a little drink, and you must remember that the Twelve United Colonies are a great body."

The next day they accepted the invitation for themselves, but it would take a year to invite their distant allies. They would do the business and then inform them. It was not best to send

to the Caughnawagas, as a man there would prevent it, but the Six Nations knew their minds and those of the seven tribes. The commissioners asked the Indians for neutrality but not for aid.

The appointed Albany council came off Aug. 23 and was the last one held there, but effected little. Colonel Barlow said that about 500 Indians came. They were "very likely, spry, lusty fellows, drest very nice for Indians. The larger part of them had on ruffeled shirts, Indian stockings and shoes, and blankets richly trimmed with silver and wampum." On the day of the council he said they made "a very beautiful show, being the likeliest brightest Indians I ever saw."

They were received by the commissioners, the Albany committee and others, and compliments were exchanged. In reply to an invitation Kanaghqueesa said they would cheerfully take a drink and smoke a pipe with the gentlemen. A business meeting was appointed for Aug. 25, at the Dutch church. The Indians proposed to be neutral, stay at home in peace and smoke their pipes. When the commissioners addressed them, they had the great pipe lighted and sent around. They then made a long speech which they wished might remain at Onondaga, and gave them a calumet to be kept at the same place. This would be done. The Indians said it was customary, when a council fire was kindled, or a tree of peace planted, to appoint some one to watch them, who should have a wing to keep the hearth clean. The Americans should appoint one as they had done, and Philip Schuyler and Volkert Douw were chosen.

In November 1775 Brant and other chiefs went to England with Colonel Johnson, and Mar. 14 and May 7, 1776, Brant made speeches on land troubles before Lord Germaine. He returned in May, reaching Staten Island in July. Oteroughyanento also spoke before Lord Germaine. They said, "We are tired out in making complaints and getting no redress." This was promised when the troubles were over.

In the attack on St Johns, some New York Mohawks fought against the Americans, while the Caughnawagas helped them in Canada for a while. The River Indians, or Stockbridges, were

friendly, the Oneidas and Mohawks of the lower castle neutral, but other Mohawks congregated at Oquaga in a half hostile way. In February 1776 Governor Tryon wrote that the Indians northward and westward, as far as Detroit, were in the king's interest and had chosen Peter Johnson as chief. He was the son of Sir William Johnson by Molly Brant, his Indian wife; and captured Ethan Allen near Montreal. Through his sister Molly, Joseph Brant had much influence. Those who mentioned her incidentally spoke of her as a kind and pleasant woman.

Sir John Johnson, hearing he was to be arrested though on parole, left his home in May 1776, with three Indian guides, 130 Scotch and 120 other inhabitants, going to Canada by way of Oswegatchie. He had fortified his house, and false information had been lodged against him. On the first movement occasioned by this, it was thought necessary to send a body of troops, and a message was sent to the lower Mohawk castle. Little Abraham and other chiefs met Schuyler at Schenectady and said: "We intended to have gone down to Albany in order to speak to you; but thank God that He has given us an opportunity to meet you here, as we have some matters to communicate to you."

They were sure the information was false, and warned Schuyler against anything that might cause trouble. He then proposed to have Sir John meet him, and this pleased them. They met and Sir John gave his parole, but later suspicions and orders caused his flight. After that, he was an active partizan.

Brant soon became the principal Iroquois leader. Mr W. L. Stone discussed his birth and hereditary chieftainship, but not in a satisfactory way. King Hendrick, he said, was succeeded by Little Abraham, and he by Brant. He also said that, while no book mentions Brant's presence at the battle of the Cedars in May 1776, he had positive evidence of his being there. Brant sailed from England that month, reaching New York in July. The Mohawks were probably alone in that battle, as four nations had then a peace embassy in Philadelphia, where the Onondaga speaker gave the name of Karandouan, or Great Tree, to John Hancock. But, while Congress advised neutrality, it really

wished Indian aid, and in May resolved that Washington might employ 2000 Indians in Canada and elsewhere, with rewards of $100 for each officer and $30 for each private captured. It favored employing the Six Nations "on the best terms that could be procured," and furnished 12 blank commissions for as many Indian officers. Washington wished General Schuyler to employ them, but he was averse to it.

In November 1776 Col. Guy Johnson wrote that he had "lately dispatched in disguise one of my officers with Joseph, the Indian chief, to get across the country to the Six Nations," and hoped they would do this undiscovered, so as to prepare "the Indians to co-operate with our military movements." Brant reached Oquaga and raised the British flag. On this alarm the Campbell house was fortified at Cherry Valley, where a company of rangers had been sent in the summer. Cherry Valley had asked aid a year earlier, when many Mohawks went to Oquaga, "as the inhabitants of the Old England District and Unadilla are daily flying into our settlement, so that we shall immediately in all appearances have an open, defenceless, and unguarded frontier."

Efforts were made to have the Indians bring in salt from Onondaga in 1777, as the need was great. Mr Stone quoted a speech of the Oneida chiefs at Fort Stanwix, Jan. 19, to the effect that news had come that the grand council fire at Onondaga was extinguished. Death had taken 90 out of that town, among whom were three principal chiefs. This was the customary way of announcing notable deaths, but it was a mystery to Mr Stone.

In February 1777, just after he had conditional permission to return to Canajoharie, which he did not do, the New York provincial council thought it "necessary to provide means for apprehending Joseph Brant." This was modified to negotiations between him and Col. John Harper, who reached Oquaga Feb. 27, with two men. He had soldiers on the Mohawk ready to aid him if required, and met the Indians in a friendly way, provided a feast, wore the Indian dress and made a speech. They said they were still neutral, and he thought they meant to be. A little later he heard that Brant intended to settle at Onondaga.

Messrs Halsey and Ketchum both quote a description of Brant in 1782 from Capt. Jeremiah Snyder:

He was a likely fellow, of a fierce aspect—tall and rather spare —well spoken, and apparently about thirty years of age. He wore moccasins, elegantly trimmed with beads, leggings and breech-cloth of superfine blue, short green coat, with two silver epaulets, and a small laced round hat. By his side hung an elegant silver mounted cutlass, and his blanket of blue cloth, purposely dropped in the chair on which he sat, to display his epaulets, was gorgeously decorated with a border of red.

Some time after Harper met a party at Schenevus creek, and learned that they meant to destroy the Johnston settlement. With 17 men he surprised the party at night, securing all unharmed. Over 700 Indians were now at Oquaga under Brant, and in May he went up the river with nearly 80 warriors. At Unadilla he made the settlers supply him with provisions and took some cattle. Those not loyalists soon removed. He burned some deserted houses, and other places were abandoned, but the Tories sought Unadilla as a refuge and base of operations.

The people of Harpersfield asked aid; and Gen. Nicholas Herkimer went to Unadilla to confer with Brant, reaching there late in June. The conference was unsatisfactory and just escaped violence. Herkimer returned to Cherry Valley June 28, and the next day Brant put Unadilla in the hands of the Tories, remaining near by himself, and committing depredations. He soon after went to Oswego with 300 Indians, where many were already, to meet the English in council there. Colonel Johnson had already reported that the Six Nations had called in all their people to make a diversion on the frontier of New York, and had made successful attacks on the border from Fort Stanwix to Ohio.

In June he had a letter from the Iroquois chiefs, written for them by Brant. They had met in May, as directed, and were all ready but the Oneidas. All "would act as one man." They had cut off a sergeant and 12 men at Fort Stanwix, had sent parties to Pennsylvania, and had defeated a party with 50 head of cattle for the American garrisons on the Mohawk. The 700

Indians assembled near Oswego would soon strike a blow. Colonel Claus had been appointed commander of the Indians in Canada, and St Leger was on his way to Oswego, where the Six Nations would join him. In July he said the Indians had made some successful attacks and were ready to join either St Leger or Burgoyne.

St Leger was joined by Sir John Johnson at Buck island and by 150 Mississagas and Iroquois on the way. The Indians Colonel Claus knew best were with Burgoyne. When St Leger reached Oswego, matters were not in a satisfactory condition, and great promises had to be made. Mary Jemison said every warrior received a suit of clothes, brass kettle, tomahawk, gun, powder and money, and a bounty for scalps was offered. Thus richly furnished, she said, the Senecas became "full of the fire of war, and anxious to encounter their enemies." They were told they might smoke their pipes and see these whipped, but instead "they were obliged to fight for their lives, and in the battle were completely beaten."

Claus met Brant at Oswego, his 300 Indians coming next day. They had been out two months and were destitute, Butler having given him too little ammunition. When Herkimer visited him with 300 men, with 500 more near by, he caused him to retire by a firm front, though having but 200 men and 20 pounds of powder. Such was his story.

St Leger intended leaving the lake at Salmon river, but came to Oswego, passing through Oneida lake afterward, Three Rivers being the Indian rendezvous and place of equipment. The army left Oswego July 26, part reaching Fort Stanwix Aug. 2, where the siege began next day. St Leger brought no heavy guns, intending a surprise, but, instead of 60 men in a stockade, his scouts found 600 repairing the old fort, who knew his strength and plans. He had time to get more artillery but would not do it, and the garrison feared no assault.

The first definite intelligence of his advance was brought by Thomas Spencer, a half-breed Oneida chief. He had been concealed at a council at Cassasseny (St Regis), where Colonel Claus

spoke, begging the Indians to join. He reported 700 Indians and 400 regular troops at Oswego, with 600 Tories on an island above Oswegatchie, and advised prompt action. Herkimer called out the militia, reinforced Fort Stanwix, and commenced repairs. The Oneidas were excited, fearing harm from the other Indians. July 29, Thomas Spencer wrote to the Americans: "To-morrow we are going to the Three Rivers to the treaty. We expect to meet the warriors there, and when we come and declare we are for peace, we expect to be used with indifference and sent away."

St Leger's force moved in boats and has been estimated at 1700; but J. W. de Peyster reasonably made it some hundreds less. Lieutenant Bird's party went ahead, reaching Three Rivers July 28, where 16 Senecas and over 70 Mississagas joined him, others following later. He was at the east end of Oneida lake July 30, and Brant and his men were sent to his aid. Molly Brant gave notice of the advance of Herkimer, whose men met at Fort Dayton, leaving there Aug. 4, and encamping near Oriskany on the 5th. Thence an express went forward to arrange signals and a sortie. Herkimer waited for the signal; his officers were impatient and charged him with cowardice. Stung by this, he gave the fatal order to advance, and fell into an ambuscade 2 miles west of Oriskany, a spot now marked by a stately monument. Spencer had warned him that this might happen, but the surprise was complete. The bloody battle was briefly interrupted by a storm. It was a terrible struggle in every way. Brother fought with brother, neighbor against neighbor, hand to hand and relentless, neither victorious. The Americans lost 200 killed, besides the wounded. The Indians alone had 100 killed, of whom 36 were Senecas. When the Indian survivors reached home, the dead were mourned by "the most doleful yells, shrieks and howlings, and by inimitable gesticulations."

Terrible as was this blow to both, neither party as yet gave up. The Americans knew the lightness of the English guns and refused to surrender; St Leger dared not risk an assault. The siege dragged on, and Johnson wished to go down the Mohawk with some force, assured that many would join him there, but

St Leger would not consent. The Indians began to drop off, and the chiefs advised a return to Oswego for heavier guns for a renewal of the siege. In the sally from the fort Aug. 6, their camp had been plundered, and, having gone into battle almost naked, at night they had nothing to cover them, nor could the British then repair their loss. The Americans were not without anxiety, and Colonel Willett and another officer went for aid Aug. 10. General Arnold rapidly advanced, and the siege was abandoned Aug. 22, the retreat quickly becoming a flight, the Indians themselves adding to the fears of the troops.

Colonel Claus had a small opinion of St Leger and complained of the trouble about Indian supplies he had then and afterward. He stayed some time in Oswego and sent thence three good officers to live with the Cayugas and Senecas. He thought but for his presence at Oswego and Brant's management, the Iroquois would have taken no part at this time. They said they were called to a council and not to war. Brant was constantly busy with the Six Nations and he thought they would take the field. He afterward complained of Carleton's conduct to him and the Mohawk refugees in Canada. Carleton proposed giving their care to one of Major Campbell's deputies, who was one of those whose harsh treatment drove the Indians from Burgoyne's army, thus emboldening the Americans. June 24 the New York Assembly made a congratulatory address to some Seneca chiefs who were returning from Washington's headquarters, and who soon became openly hostile.

Some doubtful stories were current. Colonel Johnson heard that, after the battle of Bennington, the Americans burned the Mohawk villages, and he hoped to profit by their resentment. It was also said that, after the battle of Oriskany, the Six Nations burned an Oneida village, destroyed the crops, and killed and carried away their cattle. It was added that the Oneidas avenged themselves on Brant's family and sister at Canajoharie, robbing and driving them away. They then went to the lower Mohawk castle and did the same with those whose men were in the king's service. The simple truth seems to be that Molly Brant now

took refuge at Onondaga or among the Senecas, where she was influential. Colonel Claus heard that the Six Nations decreed her satisfaction by ordering hostilities on those Oneidas who had driven her away.

Bands from Oquaga now invaded the Delaware and Schoharie settlements, and the Schoharie people complained of neglect. The Susquehanna was deserted, except that Harpersfield was a Tory rendezvous and Unadilla full of the worst people of the frontier. The year ended with an eloquent appeal made by Congress to the Six Nations, exhorting them to peace and reminding them of the consequences of war. It had no effect, for no presents appealed to those disposed to be hostile.

Chapter 24

Council at Johnstown. Schoharie valley invaded. Wyoming massacre. Senecas in Philadelphia. Queen Esther's town destroyed. Brant's depredations. Iroquois towns burned on the Unadilla and Susquehanna. Cherry Valley destroyed. Onondaga towns burned. Indians burn towns in New York. Sullivan's and Brodhead's campaigns against the Cayugas and Senecas. Raid in Mohawk valley. Oneidas and Tuscaroras join the English. Schoharie valley ravaged. Wawarsing burned. Walter N. Butler defeated and killed. Expedition against Oswego. Number of Indians in the English service.

Another council met at Johnstown Mar. 9, 1778, with 700 Indians present. Few Cayugas and no Senecas were there. The latter wanted revenge and were surprised they were called at all. All but the Oneidas and Tuscaroras were accused of treachery, and these warned the Americans not to trust the Onondagas, but said they would aid them, themselves. An Onondaga chief truly said the sachems were all for peace, but, like the whites, could not always restrain the young men. La Fayette was there, and procured forts for Schoharie and Cherry Valley. The Iroquois gave him the name of Kayewla at this time.

In March 1778 Colonel Johnson explained some matters to Lord Germaine. The cruelty of the Indians was misrepresented, and the colonists tried to secure their aid in 1775. The tomahawk, so often talked of, was seldom used except for smoking or

cutting wood, and they were rarely guilty of any cruelty but scalping the dead. The king instructed Braddock to employ them, and the colonists had a price for scalps at various times.

Barent Frey and Brant attacked Cobleskill in May, doing much damage, and there was a sharp conflict on the upper branch of that stream July 2, between the Indians and Americans, in which the latter were defeated. In the summer 300 Indians and Tories invaded the Schoharie valley and desolated it, but cavalry from Albany put them to flight. A mistake of Brant's saved Cherry Valley for a time, but he destroyed Springfield June 18, and then some small places near Otsego lake. The country was in continual alarm, and in July the Delaware country was raided as low as Minisink.

In the summer occurred the bloody tragedy of Wyoming, celebrated in history and song. That fair valley belonged to the Iroquois by right of conquest, and they knew it as the Great Plain. Its sale and the land disputes between Pennsylvania and Connecticut have been mentioned. Troubles increased when the war began, and the banishment of many loyalists augmented previous animosity. In April and May these joined in the Indian depredations. A greater stroke was planned. In June Colonel Butler left Niagara with 300 loyalists and 500 Indians, his force swelling on the way till he is said to have had 700 Indians with him when he left Tioga, mostly Senecas led by noted chiefs. This army fell on Wyoming July 3, defeating the rash sally from the fort, desolating the valley and killing about 300 people. The horrible stories of Catharine and Esther Montour were doubted by Stone, nor is his account of the two families correct. From the former Catharine's Town, N. Y., had its name, and Colonel Campbell mentioned her and not Esther at Wyoming. The Pennsylvania tradition alone preserves the latter name. She is said to have been the daughter of French Margaret, and wife of Echogohund, king of the Munsey Indians, succeeding to his authority on his death and living at Seshequin. A captive, Mrs Whittaker, often saw her there, and described her as a woman of fine appearance and pleasant manners. This was earlier in the war, but the

acts ascribed to her are not in harmony with her character. The next year's attack on Wyoming by a large force was repulsed, but Brant shared in neither of these.

A Seneca delegation was in Philadelphia at the time of the Wyoming invasion, but is said to have left without notice and refused to return. This would not be inferred from a letter of James Deane to Philip Schuyler, dated at Fort Stanwix, Oct. 10, 1778:

As the Seneca Chief, called the Great Tree, who was the summer past with General Washington, returned thro' Oneida, he gave our Friends there the most solemn assurances that upon his Arrival in his own Country, he would exert his utmost Influence to dispose his tribe to peace and Friendship with the United States, and that should his Attempts prove unsuccessful, he would immediately leave his Nation and join the Oneidas with his Friends & Adherents.

Hearing nothing for a long time, the Oneidas sent to know the result. He had tried hard but been unsuccessful. His people became excited over rumors of invasion and flew to arms. Then he sided with them. A small band of Onondagas had joined the hostile warriors, and all would meet on the Chemung. When it was found that the Senecas took part at Wyoming, an army was sent against the hostile Indians. It marched toward the Sandusky towns, but stopped at Tuscarawa and built Fort Laurens. Col. Thomas Hartley reported operations on the northern line of Pennsylvania in September, having reached Tioga Sep. 26, with 200 men:

We burnt Town, Hester's Palace or Town, & all the settlements on this side. . . Mr Carberry with the Horse only, was close on Butler, he was in possession of the Town of Shawnee, 3 Miles up the Cayuga Branch, but as we did not advance, he returned. . . Had we had 500 Regular Troops, and 150 Light Troops, with one or two Pieces of Artillery, we probably might have destroyed Chemung, which is now the recepticle of all villainous Indians & Tories from the different Tribes and states.

Brant destroyed Andrus-town, southeast of German Flats, July 18, and was followed as far as Little Lakes, where a Tory settle-

ment was burned. July 24 a regiment of regulars reached Cherry Valley, and some successful parties were sent out. At German Flats Brant had been expected all summer and was discovered in September. The alarm was given, and the people took refuge in Forts Dayton and Herkimer, but all outside was destroyed. He was followed to the Unadilla by 300 militia, but without success.

Sep. 25 a band of 100 Oneidas and Tuscaroras came to Fort Stanwix, saying they had taken the hatchet, burned Unadilla, (one of the upper villages) and Butternuts, bringing five prisoners from each place. They now took prisoners and not scalps. Col. William Butler was sent to Schoharie in August, with a regular regiment and four companies of riflemen. In October he destroyed Unadilla, Oquaga, Conihunto, etc. The Oquaga Indians had gone on a raid to the Delaware river.

A little before the destruction of Cherry Valley, Mary Degonwadonti, or Molly Brant, wrote to Captain John, or Chief Deseronto, from some Iroquois town, apparently a Seneca one: "About 500 left here Oct. 23rd, for Karightongegh [Cherry Valley]. They said that Karightongegh shall be destroyed. Sakayengwaraghdon [Old Smoke, the principal Seneca chief] is their leader."

Walter Butler had escaped from Albany and was burning for revenge. The Senecas and others were in arms, and the Indians were to meet at Tioga to invade either Pennsylvania or New Jersey. He got command of part of his father's rangers, with permission to use Brant's Indians, 500 of whom joined his band of 200 men. Cherry Valley was attacked Nov. 11, 1778. Colonel Alden was killed outside the fort, which was bravely defended, but the place was destroyed, 32 of the people and 16 soldiers being killed and many made prisoners. Colonel Klock was to come with 200 men to protect the place, but arrived a day too late and was much blamed. The Indians withdrew Nov. 13. Most of the women and children were soon released, but Mrs Campbell was taken to the Seneca castle of Kanadesaga, near Geneva, where she was adopted and kindly treated. She was

afterwards exchanged, the aged chief, Guyanguahta, being instrumental in this. The Indians celebrated their victory in that town. After a council, the warriors danced and sang around a fire, each being painted black and white, parading the prisoners and giving the scalp yell. The feast ended with the killing, roasting and eating of a white dog.

Some personal feelings influenced this attack. A month afterward four chiefs said to Colonel Cantine: "Your rebels came to Oghwaga when we Indians were gone, and you burned our houses, which made us and our brothers, the Seneca Indians, angry, so that we destroyed men, women, and children at Cherry Valley."

In January 1779 Colonel Van Dyck, at Fort Stanwix, had word from the Oneidas that Brant meant to strike a blow before spring. They had word from him and the Quinquoga (Cayuga) Indians to join him. They considered their answer Jan. 16, and would adhere to the Americans. Some principal Onondaga chiefs, then on their way to Fort Stanwix, were invited to their council and approved of their answer. The Onondagas had been asked by the western nations to extinguish the council fire, but would not do so, hoping for reconciliation yet. They promised to insist that all in their nation should declare for one side or the other when they got home. In this the Oneidas fully trusted and were in high spirits.

Two Oneidas returned from Niagara Feb. 26, with reports of Brant's intentions. The Delawares and Shawnees were to strike the Virginia frontier, and he was to lead the main expedition to the Mohawk, while another was to go to Schoharie by Unadilla. The 14 Onondaga chiefs, who went to Niagara to bring their people back, had not been allowed to return. Brant did not come.

For some reason the Onondagas were thought treacherous, and a secret expedition was planned against a people nominally at peace. A party of 558 men was sent in 30 boats, apparently to Oswego, really to Onondaga. They left Fort Stanwix Ap. 17, landing at Fort Brewerton at 3 p. m. Ap. 20. That night they camped without fires. Next morning they marched early,

fording an arm of Onondaga lake, both wide and deep. An Indian was captured at Onondaga creek, and the surprise of the three towns was complete, 12 Indians being killed, 32 captured and much plunder taken. By Ap. 24 all were in Fort Stanwix again, with much spoil and little glory.

The Oneidas at once sent to know the reason of these harsh measures, and the Onondagas made a manly statement of their hard case and severe usage. Their chiefs had probably done the best they could. Colonel Van Schaick said he had followed orders, and added that "the Onondagas have been great murderers; we have found the scalps of our brethren at their castle." At a later day their treatment has seemed unwise and unjust. It turned most of them into open foes, though Maj. Jeremiah Fogg said the following September that some Onondagas were still friendly. In fact, Iroquois history is full of a forgiving spirit, usually preferring atonement to revenge, but, when chosen, revenge was terrible.

About this time attacks were made at Stone Arabia, Fort Plain and Schoharie, with slight damage. In April 40 Indians attacked and burned Lackawaxen in the Delaware valley. Whatever the Onondagas may have done before, most of them were now hostile, and 300 attacked Cobleskill and drew some troops into an ambush, where 22 were killed. Brant destroyed Minisink, July 20, carrying off much spoil. Being hotly and rashly pursued, his enemies were defeated with heavy loss. Thence he made a brief raid on the Mohawk, before going to Tioga. Indian hostilities were incessant farther south.

General Haldimand had a conference at Quebec Aug. 20, with Teyohagweanda, a principal Onondaga chief, and three Cayugas. They asked why Oswego was not occupied, as they had long wished. He explained, adding that they need not fear the Americans would attack their country. They only cared to secure their frontiers, but he would advise the seven nations of Canada to join the Six Nations against them.

There was reason for their fears, for Sullivan was even then on his desolating march. General Clinton received his orders

June 2, arriving at Canajoharie June 16, where were 1500 men. Thence 220 boats were taken to Otsego lake, the water of which was raised by a dam. This being opened, the fleet went swiftly down the swollen stream. The sudden and mysterious flood alarmed the Indians much. The itinerary is briefly this: left Otsego lake Aug. 9; destroyed Aleout, a Scotch settlement, Aug. 12, and passed Unadilla, burned in 1778. Aug. 13, passed Conihunto or Gunnygunter, 14 miles below Unadilla and burned in 1778. Aug. 14, reached Onoquaga, where Butler burned 60 good houses, church and fort in 1778. Aug. 17, burned houses at the Tuscarora village 3 miles below, the Tuscarora town of Shawhiangto a mile farther, and Ingaren, another Tuscarora village near Great Bend. Aug. 18, Otsiningo was found already burned, but some houses were set on fire below the Chenango river. Other houses were burned next day, and a detachment from Sullivan was met at Union, which had burned a village there and at Choconut. In the evening Owego was burned. Aug. 22 Clinton joined Sullivan at Tioga, a place burned in 1778. Old Chemung had been long abandoned, and New Chemung was burned Aug. 13, while Sullivan waited for Clinton.

The march was resumed Aug. 26, and Old Chemung reached next day. Another village was destroyed on the 28th, and the enemy was found well fortified at Newtown, below Elmira. The battle was well contested next day, but the Americans routed their foes by a flank movement, afterward destroying the town and growing corn. The British reported their force as 550 Indians and 250 troops, and said Colonel Butler was surrounded and nearly taken. Brant was one of the leaders, and a letter of his just before is of interest. It was dated at Chemung, Aug. 19:

I am deeply afflicted. John Tayojaronsere, my trusty chief, is dead. He died eight days after he was wounded. Five met the same fate. I am very much troubled by the event, because he was of so much assistance to me. I destroyed Onawatoge a few days afterward. We were overtaken and I was wounded in the foot with buck shot, but it is of small consequence. I am almost well. We are in daily expectation of a battle which we think will be a severe one. We expect to number about 700

men. . . Then we shall begin to know what is to become of the People of the Long House. Our minds have not changed. We are determined to fight the Bostonians.

Aug. 31 the army was put in light marching order and Middletown, Kannawaloholla and scattered houses were burned, as well as a village at Big Flats. Sep. 1, Catharine's Town, or Sheoquaga, was reached 3 miles from Seneca lake, and it was destroyed Sep. 3. Another small place was burned next day and Kendaia on the 6th. The latter had 20 houses and some curious tombs. The day before a Cayuga hamlet was burned.

Sep. 7, the Seneca castle of Kanadesaga was reached, 1½ miles northwest of Seneca lake. It had 60 good houses and an old stockade. Next day 20 houses were burned at Kashong or Gothsinquean, a few miles south, and Skoiyase, or Long Falls, was also destroyed, where Waterloo now stands. This had 18 houses. Sep. 10 about 30 fine houses were burned at Canandaigua. Next day Anyayea, or Honeoye, was reached and its 10 houses spared for present use. The name meant Finger Lying, an Indian having lost a finger there.

Sep. 13 they reached Adjuste, or Kanaghsaws, now Conesus, the home of Big Tree. Its 25 houses were burned and eight more at Little Castle. At night the army reached Gaghsegwarohare with 22 houses. That day Lieutenant Boyd was captured, with another man, 13 of his party being found dead, with Han Yost, his Oneida guide. The brother of the latter, after his capture, told him he was worthy of death, but he left it to Little Beard to slay him. Boyd and his companion were terribly tortured in the Seneca capital.

Chenussio, or Geneseo, was reached Sep. 14. It was west of the river and had 128 fine houses, all of which were destroyed, with about 15,000 bushels of corn. The remains of Boyd and Parker were found there and buried with military honors. Thence the return march began. Honeoye was destroyed, and at Kanadesaga parties were detached, one for Albany and two against the Cayuga towns. Colonel Butler retired to Kanawaugus, which was not taken.

Sep. 21 Lieut. Col. Henry Dearborn marched to the west side of Cayuga lake, destroying a hamlet of three houses, but leaving another of 15 houses, which was out of the way. One of 10 houses was burned near the lake, and Skannayutenate and another hamlet near the present Canoga. A new town of nine houses was burned farther south. Sep. 22 they came to Swahyawanah, a village burned before, and destroyed three remaining houses. Scattered houses were burned and crops destroyed from day to day. Sep. 24 a dozen houses were burned at the head of Cayuga lake, and 25 houses were destroyed at Coreorgonel or Dehoriskanadia, 3 miles south. Sep. 26 Dearborn joined the army at Kannawaloholla.

Sep. 20 Lieut. Col. William Butler set out with 500 men, completing the destruction of Skoiyase next day. Near the outlet of Cayuga lake he burned Choharo or Thiohero, reaching the village of Gewauga at night, near Union Springs. Sep. 22 Cayuga Castle was destroyed, with 15 houses of squared logs, Upper Cayuga, with 14 large houses, and East Cayuga, with 13 houses, the destruction of houses and crops lasting till the next afternoon. Sep. 23, Chonodote, or Peach Town, on the site of Aurora, was reached at night, and its 14 large houses, crops and peachtrees were destroyed next day. Sep. 28 the army was joined. It should be remembered that Iroquois houses held several families.

The main body had returned to Kannawaloholla, now Elmira, killing a number of horses on the way, whence we have the name of Horseheads. Resting at Fort Reed awhile, successful parties were sent up the Chemung and Tioga. Sep. 30 the army reached Fort Sullivan at Tioga, having burned 40 villages and destroyed 200,000 bushels of corn, besides fruit trees. While there, Oct. 2, an entertainment was concluded with an Indian dance. Next day, said Lieut. Col. Adam Hubley,

> The young Sachem, with several Oneida Indians, relatives and friends of the unfortunate Indian Hanjost, who bravely fell with the party under command of the much lamented Lieut. Boyd on the 13th ult., who faithfully acted as guide to the army, left us this day, well pleased, (after bestowing some presents on them,) for their native place, the Oneida country.

Colonel Gansevoort was sent to Fort Stanwix with 100 men. Under orders, he went thence to the lower Mohawk castle and made all prisoners there. These "Indians lived much better than most of the Mohawk River farmers." General Schuyler remonstrated, because of their peaceable disposition and the pledged public faith. They were soon released. This party camped at Skoiyase the first night, and the next at Owasco lake, passing Skaneateles lake and reaching the deserted Onondaga village the following evening. The next camp was 6 miles east of Canaseraga, and Fort Stanwix was reached Sep. 24.

Aug. 11 Colonel Brodhead left Pittsburg against the Senecas and Mingoes on the Allegheny river. A skirmish took place before he reached Cannowago, which had been long deserted. Other Indian towns were abandoned as he advanced and were burned. The upper Seneca town Yoghroonwago was destroyed with others. In this march of 400 miles not a man was lost, and 135 large cabins were burned, each holding several families. There were indications that all these Senecas were preparing to remove. The Iroquois were in great distress through the winter, many dying from pestilence. Other nations were awed and began to treat for peace.

Except in the loss of life, for Sullivan's morning and evening guns kept the Indians at a safe distance, these expeditions differed in no respect from the Indian raids on the frontier, and gave to Washington and his successors the name of Ha-no-da-ga'-nears, Destroyer of Towns, one name of some French governors. Cornplanter spoke of this in his pathetic speech to Washington in 1790:

When your army entered the country of the Six Nations we called you the Town Destroyer; and to this day, when that name is heard, our women look behind them and turn pale, and our children cling close to the necks of their mothers. Our councilors and warriors are men, and can not be afraid; but their hearts are grieved with the fears of our women and children, and desire that it may be buried so deep as to be heard no more. When you gave us peace, we called you father, because you

promised to secure us in the possession of our lands. Do this, and so long as the lands shall remain, that beloved name will live in the heart of every Seneca.

Oct. 10 Col. Guy and Sir John Johnson left Sodus bay for Oswego with a considerable force, accompanied by Brant and his Indians. The Canadian Indians refused to go against the Oneidas or Fort Stanwix, and all went into winter quarters, Colonel Johnson returning to Niagara, where 2628 Indians remained in October, and about 1000 white refugees. There were 5036 there Sep. 21, to be fed, but parties went out on raids. Johnson said these Indians "will no longer wear tinsel lace, and are become good judges of gold and silver."

A party attacked German Flats in February 1780, and in March another did some damage at Palatine. In April Brant surprised and burned Harpersfield, but treated the prisoners well. Colonel Harper gave him false information about Schoharie, which deterred him from raiding that region, but part of his men entered Ulster county, taking some prisoners, who afterward killed their captors and escaped.

In May Sir John Johnson entered the Mohawk valley with 500 men, few of whom were Indians, coming by way of Lake Champlain and reaching Johnstown May 21. There his force divided, one party going to Tribes Hill and Cayadutta creek, doing much damage. Butler and Brant were also busy on the south side of the river. In June all the Canaseraga Tuscaroras went over to the enemy, and "two families of the Oneidas, with all the Onondagas who had joined us since the capture of their village." Other Oneidas followed, but most remained. Col. Guy Johnson said that 500 Oneidas came that year, ready to fight the Americans. "The last party that arrived delivered up to the Superintendent a commission which, he says, 'the Rebels had issued with a view to form the Oneidas into a corps. . . they also delivered up to me the Rebel flag.'"

Schonendoh and Peter were then prisoners at Niagara, but a family who returned in December said that Brant, Schonendoh and Peter persuaded them to go. This would seem to be Sken-

andoah, who Abraham Denne told Schoolcraft "was a tory in the war, notwithstanding his high name." In 1777 he was one of four mentioned who refused to go to Niagara and has been considered an American partizan. The testimony to this seems complete and unanswerable. The Oneidas, being threatened, now asked a refuge for their families among the whites, and they were placed near Schenectady till the end of the war.

In July Brant, with 600 Indians and 200 white men, cut off communication between Fort Stanwix and German Flats, capturing 53 men. That month Colonel Johnson reported that 330 Oneidas had joined him, 100 being men, and 70 had been continually with his war parties. He was told that those with the Americans would soon follow. In June the Indians had killed or captured 156 persons and destroyed much property, and all had "been effected without acts of cruelty." The Six Nations numbered 1600 men, exclusive of those southward. Of these, 1200 were warriors, and 836 were then in service. The next year he said they had distinguished themselves more than usual, and there were generally 500 in the field.

Aug. 2 Brant attacked Canajoharie with 450 Indians, burning most of the houses, killing 14 persons, and taking 50 prisoners there, as well as several hundred head of cattle. The militia were up the river, guarding boats. In all he killed 24 and took 73 persons. That month General Schuyler sent five Caughnawagas and 13 Oneidas and Tuscaroras to visit the French in Rhode Island. They were well received and were given French medals.

Sir John Johnson invaded Schoharie valley in September. He and Brant were joined at Unadilla by Cornplanter and the Senecas, the united force being about 1500 men. They attacked the Middleburg fort, but failed to take it. Going thence, they ravaged the Schoharie valley and both sides of the Mohawk. At Stone Arabia Colonel Brown was killed with 40 Americans. General Van Rensselaer pursued, attacked and defeated Sir John at Klock's Field, but he escaped in the night. One incident of his retreat was the capture of Captain Vrooman's party at the old stockade at Canaseraga, now Chittenango creek. They had

destroyed some of his boats there, near what was known as the turtle tree.

Brant's Indians were about German Flats in January 1781, and all through the spring it was the same, there being depredations at Minisink, Currietown, Cherry Valley and elsewhere. In that year Col. Marinus Willett took command and changed the situation. Brant had intended to attack the Oneidas in their new quarters in March, but did not do so. On the contrary, in July Colonel Willett attacked and defeated an Indian force under Quackack, killing 40. In August there was an Indian raid in Ulster county, and Wawarsing was burned. Cobleskill was also attacked, but in October Willett drove the enemy from the valley.

Brant and Major Ross did some damage south of the Mohawk that month, and Majors Ross and Butler came to Johnstown Oct. 24, by way of Oswego and Oneida lake. Colonel Willett reached Fort Hunter the next morning, going in pursuit as soon as he could cross the river. A battle followed, continuing till dark, with varying fortune, when Butler retreated. Willett was joined by 60 Oneidas and started up West Canada creek in hot pursuit. A running fight followed, and Walter Butler was killed by an Oneida, his forces were defeated and many prisoners were made. Some escaped into the wilderness, destitute of provisions. A party sent to Oneida lake to destroy Butler's boats, failed of doing this, but they were not wanted.

The British at Detroit were not favorable to the neighboring Moravian Indian towns, and in 1781 applied to the Six Nations at Niagara for their removal. They sent word to the Ottawas and Ojibwas: "We make you a present of the Christian Indians to make soup of;" but neither they nor the Wyandots would interfere. Not long after many of them were treacherously destroyed.

In 1782 a party of 35 Indians took some prisoners at Palatine, carrying them to Canada, but they were soon released, war being practically ended on the Mohawk river.

In February 1783 Colonel Willett made an attempt to capture Oswego, sending a party from Canajoharie in sleighs. They

crossed Oneida lake on the ice, but the Indian guides lost their way and the attempt failed.

Captain Dalton made an estimate in August of that year of the number of Indians employed on the British side in the war. Of the New York Iroquois there were 300 Mohawks, 150 Oneidas, 200 Tuscaroras, 200 Onondagas, 230 Cayugas and 400 Senecas, or 1480 in all. While some of these estimates are high, that of the Senecas is too low.

Chapter 25

Peace proclaimed. Mohawks remain in Canada. Treaty of Fort Stanwix. Pennsylvania commissioners. Brant in England. Frontier posts retained. Western councils. Brant and Delawares. Seneca chiefs in Philadelphia. Colonel Proctor in the Seneca towns. Pickering's council. St Clair's defeat. Iroquois chiefs at Philadelphia. Council at An Glaize. Council at Buffalo creek. Governor Simcoe. Wayne's victory. Indians make peace. Land treaty with the United States. Later treaties with New York companies or persons. Delaware Indians made men. Ganeodiyo, the peace prophet. Temperance reform and organizations. Red Jacket. Farmer's Brother. Six Nations declare war against Great Britain. Council at Onondaga. Captain Pollard leader at Chippewa.

Peace was proclaimed in 1783, but Great Britain made no terms for her Indian allies, nor were they secured in their lands included in the boundaries of the United States. The Mohawks had been promised better treatment. They remained awhile on the American side at Niagara, and the Senecas offered them land in the Genesee valley, but they did not wish to remain in New York. Governor Haldimand agreed to purchase and convey to them a tract on the Bay of Quinté, selected by Brant. The Senecas wanted them nearer, and Haldimand was asked to secure them a tract of 1200 square miles, extending 6 miles on each side of Grand river. This was promised and the grant was formally made in 1784. Brant and some Mohawks moved there; and, though much has been sold, portions of all the Six Nations still live there under their old laws and with a full corps of chiefs.

A disposition was shown at the end of the war to expel the New York Iroquois; but Washington and Schuyler at once opposed this, and their desire for a more liberal policy happily prevailed. The treaty of Fort Stanwix was held in 1784, all the

Six Nations being represented and the Seneca Abeals or Cornplanter's party. The brief treaty, as signed, has alone been preserved. The hatchet was buried by all. The Oneidas and Tuscaroras were secured in the possession of their lands, the former making large claims. The Six Nations unwillingly gave up most of the territory not occupied by them. It was gained and lost by the sword.

Cornplanter brought about this treaty, with which the Indians were dissatisfied, and Red Jacket took advantage of this to increase his own popularity. Brant was also displeased and gave up a proposed visit to England to attend to the matter, not liking the detention of a Mohawk chief sent by him. The American commissioners were Oliver Wolcott, Richard Butler and Arthur Lee. Some Pennsylvania commissioners were also at this treaty, on state affairs, and found the usual delays. At last four of the Iroquois nations began the council; but "the Business, in our Opinion, would not have commenced so soon had it not been at the instance of the Marquis De la Fayette, who wished to address the Indians, and was under the necessity of departing this day or to-morrow." He was very plain spoken. "Their Answer was pertinent, and breathed the spirit of peace. The Mohawks, in particular, declared their repentance for the Errors which they had committed." These commissioners were successful in their business, and at successive treaties all the Indian lands in Pennsylvania were purchased except Cornplanter's reservation.

Brant soon after visited the western Indians, probably with a view to a confederacy, and then went to England in 1785. The London papers said he had presided at a great council of many nations, and had been appointed to conduct a proposed war against the United States. He secured payment of Mohawk claims from the British government the next year, and edited a superb edition of the Mohawk prayer book. Another had been issued in Canada during the war.

The British still retained the frontier posts and encouraged the hostility of the Indians. In December 1786 a great Indian coun-

cil was held on Detroit river, at which the western Indians and Six Nations were represented. An address sent to Congress may have been written by Brant, encouraged by Sir John Johnson. At the head of this were the signatures of the Six Nations. The British now strengthened the forts, and the Indians became more hostile to the Americans.

In January 1788 the Hurons sent the Six Nations word that they had no answer from the United States, and wished them to attend the next general council, as promised. This met in October, when Brant's views were more pacific, as the Mohawks alone might adhere to the British side. In July he had also made a bargain with the "Lessee Company," leasing lands in western New York, and prospective profit cooled his military ardor. This long lease was afterward abrogated by New York as illegal.

In January 1789 General St Clair made separate treaties with some of the western Indians, which destroyed the plan of a great confederacy. One took in all the Iroquois but the Mohawks, and another, six other nations. In his journal of Feb. 4, 1789, David Zeisberger said:

Brant had for some years secretly labored to extirpate the Delawares, and on this account had urged the Chippewas, Tawas, etc., to begin war with them. This plan, secretly formed, became manifest last summer, and at the same time found its end, for it came to nought. He then worked for this, that the nations should begin war afresh with the States, with the hope that in this the Delawares would be extirpated.

He also opposed the Moravian Indians, saying, "it were better they were blotted from the surface of the earth; they caused only unrest among the other Indians." Afterward he favored them. In 1790 the Senecas aided the western tribes who defeated General Harmar, but these were personal acts.

The Seneca chiefs, Cornplanter, Half Town and Great Tree, were with Washington in Philadelphia in December 1790, staying several weeks. Great Tree may have remembered their unceremonious departure in 1778, when they said at this time:

Father: No Seneca ever goes from the fire of his friend, until he has said to him, "I am going." We therefore tell you that we are now setting out for our own country.

Father: We thank you from our hearts that we now know that there is a country we may call our own, and on which we may lay down in peace. We see that there will be peace between your children and our children, and our hearts are very glad.

Two years later Great Tree died in Philadelphia. Col. Thomas Proctor was at Buffalo Ap. 27 to May 23, 1791, but with little success. His journal is full of interesting details and he visited several Indian towns. Beside those at Buffalo creek, he mentioned Squawkie Hill, Nondas, Canaseder, Ohhishew or Dunewangua, Tenachshagouchtongu or Burnt House, Cayantha or Cornfields, Venango, Cattaragus, Carrahadeer, Hiskhue and Coneyat. These Seneca towns are as spelled by him. About Buffalo were more than 170 well built cabins, and the Onondagas had a village there. The Indians there were under British control, well clothed and fed. The chiefs refused to send deputies with him to the Miamis, but the women interfered, Red Jacket speaking for them, and delegates were appointed. The refusal of a vessel by the British forced Proctor to abandon the trip, and he found that Young King and Farmer's Brother were both on the British side, as most of the Indians were.

Col. Timothy Pickering held a successful council at Elmira N. Y., in June 1791. It was appointed for Painted Post, where an earlier council had been held, but Newtown, now Elmira, was more accessible for boats. There were 200 Onondaga and Oneida warriors present, with 682 Senecas, and it was agreed to send chiefs to Philadelphia the next year.

St Clair's defeat happened that year, and Stone supposed that Brant was there with 150 Mohawks. It is not improbable, for he was at a western war council that year and spoke in behalf of the Moravian Indians: "Why should we wish to compel them to go to war? . . . Let them be, and disturb them not." This victory greatly elated the young Indian warriors, and Zeisberger wrote, Sep. 28: "Warriors came here, going to the war. We heard that all Cornplanter's young people had left him and gone to the Miami to take part in the war." He was but a war chief.

In this year we have again a glimpse of the female part of the

Montour family, but without a hint of the traditional Queen Esther. The male members often appear. Zeisberger wrote at the Moravian towns Jan. 4, 1791:

A Mohawk Indian woman, Mary Montour, sister of Cathrine, and of the former Andrew Montour, who came here not long ago, upon her request and desire, got leave to be a dweller here. She knows how to speak many languages, for example, Mohawk, her mother tongue, Wyandot, Ottawa, Chippewa, Shawano, Delaware, English and French. Her sister, Cathrine, and several of her friends, live not far from Niagara over the lake, and we have already many times heard that she would like to be here, for John Cook, her son, is here.

The Rev. Samuel Kirkland was sent to the Genesee country to conduct 50 chiefs to Philadelphia, which they reached Mar. 13, 1792. The large silver medals given them that year are well known, and the meeting was mutually satisfactory. Brant was not there till after the council, arriving June 20. He refused some fine offers, but undertook a peace embassy to the Miami country. Being sick, he sent the messages by his son, intending to follow soon. As he passed through the Moravian towns, Sep. 29, he said, "if he came to the Miami and found the Indians disinclined for peace, he should straightway turn back home." When he returned in November, he said nothing was concluded, but there would be a council at Sandusky in the spring.

Cornplanter and 48 other Iroquois also attended this council at Au Glaize on the Miami, and there were 30 Iroquois chiefs from Canada. The peace embassy was not well received by the western Indians, but harmony was restored, and it was agreed to meet the United States in council at the rapids of the Miami the next spring. They would be peaceable till then if the troops were withdrawn from the western side of the Ohio, but did send out 300 warriors. On the return of the New York chiefs, a grand council of the Six Nations was held at Buffalo, the acts of the western council were related, and a speech was sent to the president.

Hostilities were frequent along the frontier through the winter, and the western Indians held a preliminary council in Feb-

ruary 1793, sending a very explicit message to the Six Nations, to be forwarded to President Washington. They insisted on the Ohio as a boundary, and would hold another private council before the public meeting. When the latter took place, the Indians were divided, most wishing peace. The minority got in a deceptive message, and the others determined that those who wished war might fight it out alone. Peace measures failing, the United States commissioners at once returned without reaching the council.

On this occasion some Onondaga friends of Zeisberger told him that "they no longer live in Onondaga, where there are now only twelve or thirteen families, but over the lake at Buffalo creek." They said they had been betrayed at this council. Brant was there with many Mohawks. In fact the commissioners never were at the council, the British officers at Detroit refusing to let them go till they were sent for, but otherwise treating them courteously. They left Philadelphia Feb. 27, 1793, were detained at Niagara for several weeks, where a conference was held, and the Indians sent their reply Aug. 13, without permitting them to appear. All present signed the reply except the Six Nations, but the Senecas of the Glaize signed with the totem of the Turtle. Brant was surprised to find the British opposing articles of peace.

On the return of the chiefs a council was held at the Onondaga village on Buffalo creek, Oct. 8, to which both English and Americans were invited. Clear Sky, an Onondaga chief, opened the council, and all the belts were produced and speeches rehearsed. On the next day Brant was present and spoke, saying that land claims "always have been, and still continue to be, the cause of war." He made a proposition which he thought might secure peace, and it was "the general wish of the Six Nations that General Chapin, himself, will proceed with the speech to Congress." This he did, and another council was proposed at Venango in the spring. This was reported at a council held at Buffalo creek Feb. 7, 1794, but was not acceptable, as a direct answer on the boundary line was desired.

Governor Simcoe kept hostile feelings alive, and in April 1794 he went from Detroit to the foot of the Maumee rapids and began building a fort on American territory. The western Indians said he supplied them with all things red, and would aid them with 1500 men. A Spanish agent also came to stir them up and offer aid. The Americans prepared for war, and some things happened to alienate the Six Nations from them. Cornplanter and others had sold Presque Isle to Pennsylvania, and it prepared to take possession contrary to their wish, as they claimed that the sale was irregular. General Gibson wrote to Governor Mifflin June 11, 1794, "From every account, I have every reason to believe the Six Nations mean to be hostile." Cornplanter thought war certain, and bragged of what he would do against the Americans, but Washington wished to avoid trouble and proposed a council. June 27 General Wilkins said of the Six Nations:

> Our peace or war with them depends on our being in peace or war with the English. The Senecas, who are the best disposed of any of the Six Nation tribes, say that the English have bought over all the other tribes, but that they are determined to be neutral; but if there is an English war, their neutrality is not to be depended on.

Wayne's victory turned the scale, and Washington's prudent measures averted local trouble. In Wayne the Indians found a sleepless foe, wise and watchful. Their attempt to capture one of his trains, June 30, was defeated, and he marched on. July 20, 1794, he completely routed them at Maumee rapids, pursuing the enemy and destroying everything of theirs under the walls of the British fort. It was at this time that the Indians revived the name of Long Knives for the Americans. In contemporaneous accounts these rapids are always called those of the Miami.

Brant was not there, but he and many Mohawks went westward in September. He then "said he went to the war unwillingly, but he was compelled, and must go, for war was contrived merely for this, to exterminate the Indians." Some Senecas and Onondagas were there. Oheknugh, an Onondaga chief, was slain, but Oundiaga and some of his warriors escaped.

Peace was not made at once, Brant and Governor Simcoe opposing it, but the Indians at last grew weary and made peace with Wayne on his own terms. In 1795 the difficulties between the United States and Great Britain were settled, and the latter no longer aided the Indians.

About the end of the century, before and after, there were many Iroquois land sales in New York, all described in *The Indian Problem* of 1889. That of 1784 was a treaty with the United States, in which a boundary line was drawn:

> From the mouth of a creek about four miles east of Niagara, called Oyonwayea, or Johnston's landing place, upon the lake named by the Indians Oswego, and by us Ontario; from thence southerly in a direction always four miles east of the carrying path between Lakes Erie and Ontario, to the mouth of Tehoseroron, or Buffalo creek, on Lake Erie; thence south to the north boundary of the State of Pennsylvania; thence west to the end of the said north boundary; thence south along the west boundary of the said State to the river Ohio; the said line from the mouth of the Oyonwayea to the Ohio shall be the western boundary of the lands of the Six Nations.

This outside territory had been gained by conquest and was practically lost by war. The lands west of this line were surrendered to the United States and those east and north were reserved for the Six Nations, except 6 miles square about the fort at Oswego. This was reaffirmed at the treaty of Fort Harmar, June 5, 1789, but the Mohawks were left out and the Oneidas and Tuscaroras were confirmed in their land titles. Criminal offenses would be punished by state law, but much was left to the Indians themselves. In Judge Marshall's words they were interior dependent nations.

The treaty of Jan. 21, 1795, acknowledged the Oneida, Onondaga, and Cayuga reservations and specified the Seneca boundaries, besides securing a right of passage. A special treaty was made at the same time with the Oneida, Tuscarora and Stockbridge Indians, recompensing them for losses in the war, providing mills, and "$1000, to be applied in building a convenient church at Oneida, in the place of the one which was burnt by the enemy in the late war."

The Seneca treaties with New York, the United States, and private companies are too numerous to describe and are complicated by the Ogden claims. The Oneidas' sales have also been many, disposing of all their land except that of a few private persons. They now have a large tract in Wisconsin, where most of them reside.

The first land sale by the Onondagas was Sep. 12, 1788, and took most of their land, but reserved a mile around Onondaga lake for common use by them and the whites, with quite a tract farther south. In 1793 they sold a tract east of Onondaga creek and gave the State the right to lay out roads across their lands. In 1795 they sold the Salt Springs reservation and some land west of the creek. There were smaller sales in 1817 and 1822.

The Cayugas sold most of their land in 1789, but reserved a large tract on both sides of their lake at the north end and still farther north. In 1795 they sold all but a tract of 2 miles square and two others each a mile square. One of the latter, at Cayuga, was given to the Fish Carrier, one of their chiefs, and the others were sold in 1807, so that they have now no reservation.

The Mohawks in Canada released all claims to New York lands in 1798, and the St Regis Indians made land sales in 1795, 1813, 1824, 1825 and 1845.

The Iroquois on the Grand river in Canada did not altogether escape land troubles, and Brant even proposed to remove to the United States. Some Iroquois from New York claimed that the Grand river lands belonged to them as well as the Mohawks. A council at Buffalo, under Red Jacket and Farmer's Brother, deposed Brant, but he was restored. According to Stone, the council was illegal, the council fire having been regularly removed from Buffalo to the Onondaga village on Grand river. It is certain, however, that legal councils were held at Buffalo, where the official Onondaga wampum keeper long resided. The wampum was restored to old Onondaga in 1847, but since 1812 there have been two confederacies of the Six Nations, respectively in Canada and New York, and exactly corresponding.

Brant went to the western treaty with the United States in

June 1795. At this time took place the curious ceremony which made the Delawares men and warriors, and of which Zeisberger gave this account:

They had, among other ceremonies, shorn an Indian's head, leaving only a little hair at the top, adorned him with white feathers, as the warriors are accustomed to do, and painted him. They left him no clothing except a breech-clout, and put a war-beetle into his hands, and then presented him to the Delawares with these words: "Cousin, beforetimes we put on thee only a woman's garment; hung on thy side a calabash, with oil to anoint thy head, put into thy hand a grubbing axe and a pestle, to plant corn and to grind it, together with other house-gear, and told thee to support thyself by agriculture, together with thy children, and to trouble thyself about nothing else. Now we cut in two the band wherewith thy garment is bound, throw it among these thick dark bushes, whence no man must bring it again, or he must die. Thou art no longer in thy proper form, but thy form is like this Indian's, whom we now present to thee, that thou mayest see who thou now art, and instead of a grubbing axe and corn-pestle we put into thy hand a war-beetle, and feathers upon thy head. Thou goest about now like a man." Thus they made the Delaware nation not only into men, but into warriors.

A party of Mohawks went through the Moravian towns Aug. 28, 1796, and Zeisberger said: "They are earnestly working to kindle war again, saying quite openly that there should be a new war with the States, and they seek to arouse the Canada Indians."

The mission of Ganeodiyo, or Handsome Lake, the prophet of the new religion, has been placed both in 1790 and in 1800, with probabilities in favor of the later date. It seems to have been unknown when the Iroquois chiefs visited President Washington in 1792, and part of the revelation assumes that he was dead. Handsome Lake's name first appears on a treaty in 1794, but without special notice, and it may be assumed that he was then in no way distinguished from other chiefs. The revelation is said to have been made in the interest of his half-brother, Corn-planter, but there is no proof of this. It taught rewards and punishments based on sound morality, and strongly opposed drunkenness and the sale of lands. It was largely accepted by four of the Six Nations of New York and effected a considerable reformation. The prophet died at Onondaga in 1815 and was

buried there. Some Quakers were at Onondaga in 1809 and their words satisfactorily settle the time and effects of the prophet's mission: "We were informed, not only by themselves but the interpreter, that they had totally refrained from the use of ardent spirits for about nine years, and that none of the natives will touch it."

He visited the President of the United States in March 1802, with some Onondaga and Seneca chiefs, and received a letter from the secretary of war, from which it may be gathered that his mission was then recent. There is mention of the revelation and of the four angels who made it, which was good news because of its objects:

> Brothers—The President is pleased with seeing you all in good health, after so long a journey, and he rejoices in his heart, that one of your own people has been employed to make you sober, good and happy; and that he is so well disposed to give you good advice, and to set before you so good examples.
>
> Brothers—If all the red people follow the advice of your friend and teacher, the Handsome Lake, and in future will be sober, honest, industrious and good, there can be no doubt but the Great Spirit will take care of you and make you happy.

From time to time the Six Nations had made efforts to repress drunkenness, asking for stringent measures against rum selling one year and for their repeal the next. They sadly knew the full extent of the evil, but their good resolutions were not proof against it. In this respect there was now a great reformation, which yet was not thorough. There came later efforts. In 1830 the Rev. James Cusick, a Tuscarora, founded a temperance society of more than 100 members, and in 1845 another of 50 members. In 1845 the Rev. Asher Bliss said of the Cattaraugus reservation: "Temperance societies have been patronized by nearly all the chiefs and leading men on the reservation. Pledges have been circulated, and received the signatures of a large majority of the population, on the Washingtonian plan."

As often as with us these efforts have been kept up since, there being sometimes three or four temperance organizations on one reservation. The Good Templars have had one great advantage

in bringing the Indians into contact with a good class of white people, and being influenced by them. Among themselves, a Six Nations Temperance League both in Canada and New York, holds a great annual meeting, bringing representatives of all together in various places, with excellent results.

In the settlement of western New York some Seneca chiefs became prominent, two of these being Honayewus, or Farmer's Brother, and Red Jacket, or Sagoyewatha. The latter was noted as an orator, and Colonel Stone quoted Thomas Morris's description as follows:

When I first knew Red Jacket he was in his prime, being probably about 36 years of age. He was decidedly the most eloquent man amongst the Six Nations. His stature was rather above than below the middle size. He was well made. His eyes were fine, and expressive of the intellect of which he possessed an uncommon portion. His address, particularly when he spoke in council, was very fine, and almost majestic. He was decidedly the most graceful public speaker I ever heard. He was fluent, without being rapid. You could always tell when he meant to speak, from the pains he would take before he arose, to arrange the silver ornaments on his arms, and the graceful fold he would give to his blanket.

Farmer's Brother may have been born about 1730 and died in 1814. Though he spoke often, he preferred being a warrior to shining as an orator. Stone said of him:

Beyond all doubt he was one of the noblest of his race,—in both intellect and eloquence fully equal to Red Jacket, and infinitely above him in courage and all the moral qualities of the man. . . He lived and died a sober man. He was remarkably well formed, and erect in his carriage, and trod the earth with a firm step to the last.

The Seneca chiefs had tried to restrain the western Indians, but, at the battle of Tippecanoe, Nov. 7, 1811, it is said that many young Senecas were engaged. Troubles with England came to a head in the War of 1812; and Hon. Erastus Granger held a council at Buffalo July 6, repeating Washington's advice to the Indians, "That you take no part in the quarrels of the white people." Red Jacket regretted that those in Canada had taken up arms, and another peace messenger was sent to the Mohawks

without effect. Not long after, it was reported that the British had seized Grand Island. This was thought a cause for war, and this declaration was made:

We, the chiefs and councilors of the Six Nations of Indians, residing in the State of New-York, do hereby proclaim to all the war-chiefs and warriors of the Six Nations, that war is declared on our part against the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada. Therefore, we hereby command and advise all the war-chiefs and warriors of the Six Nations to call forth immediately the warriors under them, and put them in motion to protect their rights and liberties, which our brethren, the Americans, are now defending.

A council at old Onondaga followed, Sep. 28, 1812, and an address was sent to the president, saying:

Brother,—The undersigned, chiefs of the Oneida, Onondaga, Stockbridge and Tuscarora tribes of Indians, as far west as Tonawanda, regularly deputed by our respective tribes, have this day lighted up a council fire at Onondaga, the ancient council ground of the Six Confederated Nations.

They had been advised to be neutral and were surprised at the declaration of the Buffalo council, but added: "We are few in number, and can do but little, but our hearts are good, and we are willing to do what we can." They took no part till the next year, when 400 Senecas under Young Cornplanter aided in the defense of Buffalo. In a later engagement, July 17, the Six Nations gave efficient aid. General Boyd said at this time: "The bravery and humanity of the Indians were equally conspicuous." They also took part in the battle of Chippewa, July 5, 1814, led by Captain Pollard, a Seneca chief. Stone said that Kawaskant, or Steel Trap, an old Onondaga warrior, had expected this honor, but was not even named in the council. He went home at once, saying, "They think me too old, and that I am good for nothing." Clark also said that Hoahoaqua, or La Fort, an Onondaga chief who was killed in this battle, was chosen leader, but this was an error.

Chapter 26

Morse's Indian report. Census made at various times. Ogden Land Co. Reservations. General Carrington's statements. Little violence. Citizenship. Title to lands. Schools. Union soldiers. Present government. Immorality. Progress.

The Rev. Jedidiah Morse made a report in 1822, on the Indians of the United States. In 1796 he found "the whole population of the Six Nations, including their adopted children, was 3748." In 1818 Jasper Parish said officially, "The population of the Six Nations of Indians is 4575." The Oneidas were then 1031, exclusive of the Stockbridges; and at old Onondaga were 299 Onondagas. Morse found but 272 of the latter there in 1821. Including the Brothertown and Stockbridge Indians at Oneida, the Six Nations of New York then numbered 4884. After that, most of the Oneidas went to Wisconsin.

In 1792 their missionary, Rev. Samuel Kirkland, said the Oneidas had several villages from 10 to 15 miles from Oneida lake, and numbered 630. There were 280 Stockbridge Indians 6 miles south of the largest Oneida village, who came from Massachusetts. The Oneidas had also given lands to 250 Brothertown Indians in 1786, which were 20 miles south of Oneida lake. Their village was 8 miles south of the Stockbridges, and they had come from Long Island sound.

Mention has been made of some of the loose estimates of numbers from time to time. In the New York census of 1845 an effort was made to get more reliable data of all kinds, and Henry R. Schoolcraft was employed to do this. He found here 20 Mohawks, 210 Oneidas, 368 Onondagas, 123 Cayugas, 2441 Senecas, 281 Tuscaroras, and 360 St Regis Indians. Other Iroquois in the United States were 722 Oneidas in Wisconsin, 125 Senecas west of the Mississippi, and 211 mixed Senecas and Shawnees, of whom half might be Senecas. There were also 51 Cornplanter Senecas in Pennsylvania, named from that chief. He estimated the Canadian Iroquois at 2000, and the whole number then living at 6942, but did not take in some Canadian villages; and the mere estimates are too low.

The United States census of 1890 was naturally more accurate, returning fully 7387 Iroquois in the United States and 8483 in Canada, with a total of 15,870. The estimate of the greatest earlier population was 13,000 in 1682. This census also gave 5239 as the Iroquois population of New York, to which may be added 98 on the adjoining Cornplanter reservation in Pennsylvania. Including this in the New York census, there were in the State 481 Onondagas, 212 Oneidas, 18 Mohawks, 183 Cayugas, 2767 Senecas and 408 Tuscaroras. On the New York side of St Regis were 1129 Indians. This left over 2000 Iroquois in other parts of the United States. The reported increase on the New York reservations in 45 years was 1753. Reckoning by these alone, there were in 1890, 494 Onondaga, 561 Tonawanda, 880 Allegany, 1582 Cattaraugus, 459 Tuscarora and 1157 St Regis Indians. As many more of the latter were on the Canada side.

In 1819 the Ogden Land Company held a treaty at Buffalo, desiring to secure all the Seneca reservations or have them concentrate on one. Agents of the United States and Massachusetts also attended, but the treaty was not successful, and there was now a marked religious division in the Seneca nation. Successive councils were held till 1826, when the Ogden Company had more success, securing several small reservations in the Genesee valley and parts of others.

In 1838 all the Seneca lands in New York were conveyed to the company, and this treaty was approved by the United States Senate, March 1840, and afterward proclaimed by the president. All this involved the arrangements about western lands and a long litigation, recently decided in favor of the Indians. The Senecas opposed the ratification on the ground of fraud, and it was agreed that improper means had been used, the case creating great interest and sympathy for the Indians. The Quakers took up their plea and a compromise treaty was made in 1842, legal resort proving useless. A full account of all is contained in the report on *The Indian Problem,* made to the Legislature of New York in 1889, the compromise being this:

The Ogden Company released and handed back to the Senecas the whole of the Allegany reservation and the Cattaraugus reservation, and the Senecas gave up the whole of the Buffalo creek and the Tonawanda reservations, the Ogden Company retaining the preemptive right in the two reservations surrendered to the Indians.

The Tonawandas were not satisfied with this, and forcibly held possession till 1857, when a new treaty was made, and most of the reservation was bought and restored to the Indians in 1863. At one time their friends thought all would have to leave the State. The matter rests thus. The Indians hold their lands with no intention of selling them, but no one can buy the Seneca lands except the Ogden Company.

Out of various treaties and transfers grew the claim of the Six Nations to Kansas lands, deeded to them but opened and sold to settlers in 1860. In 1880 active measures were taken to recover the price of 1,824,000 acres, and in 1900 the Indians gained their case and an award of $1,998,744. Payment of this three years later, was delayed by questions on distribution, raised by the Indians themselves, some who had left New York claiming a share.

In 1890 there were 106 Oneidas living in Oneida and Madison counties, but they had no reservation. The Onondaga reservation, about 5 miles south of the center of Syracuse, is a rectangle, 4 miles long by a little over 2.3 wide, containing about 6100 acres.

Tonawanda reservation originally had 71 square miles, and has now but 6549.73 acres. It is irregular in form and in the counties of Niagara, Genesee and Erie. Like the four following, it is a Seneca reserve. Allegany reservation, in Cattaraugus county, is irregular in form, from being on both sides of Allegheny river. It is nearly 35 miles long, following that stream, and contains 30,469 acres. Oil Spring reservation, in the same county, is a mile square. Cornplanter reservation, in Pennsylvania, is half a mile wide and 2 miles long. Cattaraugus reservation is in Cattaraugus, Chautauqua and Erie counties, on both sides of Cattaraugus creek. It is 9.5 miles long, east and west, and about 3 miles wide in the center. It is irregular in form and contains 21,680 acres.

The Tuscarora reservation in Niagara county came to the Tuscarora people by donation and purchase. It is irregular in form and includes 6249 acres. The St Regis reservation lies south of the boundary line, in St Lawrence and Franklin counties and on the St Lawrence, Raquette and St Regis rivers. It is irregular in form, about 7.3 miles long on the south line, and about 3 miles wide; area about 14,640 acres. The Canadian half is about equal in size and population.

In the census report for 1890 are those of the special agent, Gen. Henry B. Carrington, and of Mr T. W. Jackson, United States agent for the Six Nations, employed as enumerator. This and the *Indian Problem* are among the most valuable works on the Iroquois lately prepared, though having many of the common historic errors. The other matter is good and carefully prepared. The following statements are summarized from those made by General Carrington.

He found that many late reports "were evidently manufactured and given out by interested parties when legislation to affect these Indians was pending." On none of the reservations were intoxicating liquors sold, nor were there "houses for immoral purposes nor gambling dens. . . The Six Nations are in most danger from without." They have generally asked to be let alone. He adds:

> They have been in a great measure let alone by the authorities, and the result is that they are self-sustaining and much further advanced in civilization than any other reservation Indians in the United States, and as much so as an average number of white people in many localities. . . Envious Caucasians, hungering for the Indians' landed possessions in New York State, as elsewhere, have been active and earnest in efforts to absorb their substance. They have been kept from doing so thus far through the efforts of earnest and active fair-minded people, who have prevented their spoliation.
>
> Crimes were few, stealing and quarreling rare.
>
> The total local offenses during the year was 16 in an Indian population of 5133. . . No communities elsewhere, white or otherwise, are known where person and property are more safe, or where male and female can walk unattended at night with

greater security. Pauperism is unusual and the tramp almost unknown. . . The special agent calls attention to the gradual elimination of diseases resulting from white association in early times. This has reduced mortality and increased longevity. The growth of self-reliance is especially noticeable. . . 2884 speak the English language, and 1985 do not. The total acreage of the reservations of the Six Nations is 82,327.73, with an Indian and adopted population of 5203, or 16.78 acres for each person.

The law recognizes each nation "as much sovereignties, by treaty and obligation, as are the several states of the United States." The following words of General Carrington will convey nothing new to real students of the situation, but they may be of use to those who are confident they can dispose of every difficulty by a single act:

If the Iroquois, native or foreign born, want to become citizens of the United States, they must renounce allegiance to their own people, but, if those of the Six Nations in New York become such citizens, they can not carry their real property interest with them. . . This, in fact, is at present a practical inhibition in their way to citizenship. The several reservations belong to them (St Regis differs somewhat from the rest), and neither the State of New York nor the United States can legally break them up without the Indians' consent, or through conditions analogous to those of war. . . The title to these reservations is in the nation, and the members are therefore at common law "tenants in common." Each owns his undivided share absolutely, independently of the United States or the State of New York. The individuals, however, only hold a fee equivalent to the ownership of the land they improve, with power to sell or devise among their own people, but not to strangers. It is a good title. The nation itself can not disturb it. . . The conclusion is irresistible that the Six Nations are nations by treaty and law, and have long since been recognized as such by the United States and the State of New York, and an enlightened public will surely hesitate before proceeding to divest these people of long established rights without their consent.

The United States employs an agent, messenger, physician and interpreter. The agent receives and distributes money and goods annually to all but the St Regis Indians. The New York State agent acts for the Onondagas, and the attorney for those at St Regis.

No allotment can be made of the Six Nations lands, nor can an assignment in severalty of them be had on the basis of a common and general division or absolute removal, as is usual with ordinary reservation Indians. The present occupancy or recorded titles would prevent this, and the courts would undoubtedly protect them. While land tenure among the Six Nations is, as a rule, secure in the families enjoying it, the evidence of title for many years largely depended upon visible possession and improvement rather than upon the record evidence common to white people. Verbal wills recited at the dead feasts, in the presence of witnesses to the devise, were usually regarded as sacred, and a sale, with delivery of possession, was respected when no written conveyance was executed. Of late years written wills have become common. . . The clerk of the Seneca nation keeps a record of grants made by the council. Generally, the clerk, whether of chiefs, as with the Onondagas and Tuscaroras, or of trustees, as with the St Regis, has the custody of the records of official proceedings respecting grants or sales of lands. . . An applicant for land, after petition, secures a vote of council or of chiefs of a tribe or nation, as the case may be, with the description of the land asked for, and a copy of that vote is the basis of a permanent title to himself, his heirs and assignees. . . The infrequency of transfer out of a family and the publicity of the act when such a transfer is made have been esteemed sufficiently protective. . . As with white people, there are and will be Six Nations Indians landowners and Six Nations Indians landless.

In 1890 there were 27 schools on the New York reservations, besides the Thomas Asylum, and the number of teachers has been since increased. Irregular habits and a feeling that school education was of little use have interfered with study, but, as the benefits are realized, there are better results and attendance. Reading, writing and arithmetic are seen to be useful, and a common education is desired. General Carrington well said:

No people are quicker to catch opportunities for easy gain. A system of rewards, stimulative of effort in the education of their children, if well advised and fostered, would be worth its cost and accomplish lasting good.

The early French missionaries understood this. In 1669 Father Bruyas found his Oneida pupils daily increasing, but he had been shrewd in his management, and said: "Whoever knows how to repeat on Sunday all that is said during the week, has a string of glass beads, or two little glass cylinders, or two rings of brass."

After the colonial period, there were new efforts in the way of Indian education, often of a mere personal character and without permanence. State aid was first given not very long ago, and for a time was of a very cheap kind. It has not been all that is needed yet; but those who have known the New York reservations for 60 years are well aware of the great advance made.

As nearly as could be learned in 1890, the Six Nations furnished for the Civil War 162 soldiers and sailors; the Onondagas 16, the Senecas 113, the Tuscaroras 10, and the St Regis 23. These were not in one organization, but enlisted in various regiments. One noted Seneca chief, Donehogawa, or Ely S. Parker, served on General Grant's staff and was a man of good education.

The Onondagas have 27 chiefs, the ruling ones chosen by the women of the clan represented. These usually hold office till death or deposition, and boys may be chosen, but can not vote on financial affairs. There are now a president, secretary, treasurer and other officers. The Tonawanda Senecas have 34 chiefs, chosen by the women of the vacant clans, but the chiefs in office may demand a reconsideration. The people vote for executive officers. The Allegany and Cattaraugus Senecas are legally incorporated as "The Seneca Nation," with a constitution, a council of 16 members, half elected every year, and a president. Expenditures of over $500 require a popular vote.

The Tuscaroras have their ancient chiefs, chosen by the women. The St Regis Indians were one of the Seven Nations of Canada, always with a peculiar government, and now having trustees annually elected.

Inquiry was diligently made respecting the number of recognized immoral characters living on the respective reservations. These inquiries were made with the population list in mind, and always of different persons. There was an almost invariable concurrence of testimony, specifying how many and who openly violated the laws of chastity. The largest estimate for any reservation was less than 20; at some reservations not even six could be named. . . The people of the Six Nations, with all their unhappy surroundings and poverty, in this matter have suffered opprobium beyond their true desert in the judgment of Christian America.

There is no occasion to precipitate the technical, very vague, and very unsubstantial condition of citizenship upon the people of the Six Nations. It would only facilitate, while they are poor, the transfer of their lands to hungry white men without benefit to their people at large. . . The Six Nations will make better citizens by a still longer struggle among themselves, if supported generously and charitably by those who are their true friends.

General Carrington gives sound reasons why citizenship and partition should not be enforced or hastened, and it may be added that some of the most advanced and intelligent Iroquois hold the same opinions. They can not see what they would gain by citizenship, and they realize the dangers and difficulties of partition. One great difficulty comes in the line of descent. Mr Jackson differed from General Carrington on the main question, but admitted the difficulties. He said:

In my opinion, the proper way to civilize the Indians of New York is to secure a division of their lands in severalty, and place them in full citizenship; but there are many questions and difficulties to be overcome before this can be done without injury to the rights of the Indians.

In the judgment of some who know the New York Iroquois best, they have made a remarkable advance in the last half century; and the future is full of hope for them if guidance and aid are not replaced by unwise coercion. Many live well and are highly esteemed. They are in demand in various industries, and some judicious business training would increase the demand. The growing contact with intelligent and reputable white people is one important factor; the recognized advantages of essential branches of education in business are telling favorably on the question of schools. Old feasts and customs have lost their hold, and dances which were once religious are now but frolics. Church membership compares fairly with that of white communities. The census of 1890 reported 12 church buildings, 18 ministers, and 1074 communicants in New York. In temperance organizations they surpass their white neighbors.

In the history now given this gradual change and progress may be seen. Many savage features had disappeared before 1800; and the Indians who had fought New York men a little

before, then aided the pioneers in subduing the wilderness, welcoming them with open hands. But to understand the change more fully, one should go into some of the better Iroquois homes of today, and contrast them with anything—the very best—found on an Indian reservation 60 years ago. Much is yet desirable; but there is constant progress. Some object to the change who have a taste for the novel and picturesque; some because the change is less rapid than they wish. Let both rest assured that the progress is natural and healthy, and is resulting in good. With more time and better influences a higher good will come.

One pleasant feature is the revival of interest in all pertaining to the Indian race, practical or curious. That we should wish to know the meanings or history of the local names we use seems a matter of course, but there is a constant call for Indian names for places, houses, boats and clubs, because of their beauty and sonorous sound. The desire to know more of aboriginal life daily increases, and new works on the subject or reprints of old ones constantly appear. The fact that old customs and articles are vanishing has led to personal study of those which remain, as well as the preservation of much which is curious or valuable. It would be well were there more visible memorials of historic Indian sites, but monuments are not forgotten. Jogues and the *Mission of the Martyrs* are recalled by the shrine at Auriesville. The Brant monument at Brantford in Canada, tells of a notable man and a powerful confederacy; the Red Jacket memorial at Canoga marks the birthplace of a great orator, and his monument at Buffalo points out his tomb; the Kirkpatrick memorials at Syracuse recall the friends and guides of Le Moyne; and the Logan monument, within the earthwork at Auburn, bears that chief's pathetic words: "Who is there to mourn for Logan?" Other memorials there will be, but the historic, legendary or descriptive names he has left to meadow, river, lake and mountain, will still be the red man's greatest and most enduring monument, heard from infant lips and cherished in old age. As Schiller wrote: "O'er dust triumphant lives the Name." Nations die, but that endures.

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

PLATE I

Part of Champlain's map of 1632

1 Saults in various parts, all under one number
2 La Nation des Puans, afterward called Winnebagoes
3 Isle ou il y a vne mine de cuiure. This copper mine was reported by Brulé on his return from the Huron country.
4 Grand lac, Lake Michigan
5 Les gens de feu, Assistagueronons, afterward Maskoutins
6 Mer douce, Lake Huron
7 Lieu ou les sauuages font secherie de framboise et blues tous les ans
8 Lac de Bisserenis, called by him very handsome
9 Bisserenis
10 Chasse des caribous Algommequins
11 Huron country, where there are a number of tribes and 17 villages inclosed with triple palisades of wood, with galleries all around in form of parapet
12 Gens de Petun is a tribe that cultivates that plant [tobacco] in which they drive a considerable trade with the other nations. Afterward called Tionontaties.
13 Cheveux relevez are savages who do not wear a breech cloth, and go quite naked except in winter. Algonquins so called from their erect hair.
14 The Neutral Nation is a tribe which maintains itself against all others and has no war except against the Assistaque-ronons
15 Lac St Louis, now Lake Ontario
16 The Antouhonorons are 15 villages built in strong positions, enemies of all others except the Neutral nation. The Yroquois and the Antouhonorons make war together.
17 Village inclosed by four palisades, where Sieur Champlain went to war against the Antouhonorons, where he took several Indian prisoners. In the narrative it is an Iroquois fort. The dotted line shows his route.
18 Hirocois, his usual spelling for Iroquois; sometimes Yroquois.
19 Carantouanis is a nation to the south of the Antouhonorons. . . where they are strongly lodged, and are friends with all the other nations except the Antouhonorons, from whom they are only three days distant. They were near the Susquehanna, and probably near Waverly N. Y.
20 Petitte nation des Algommequins, or Algonquins
21 River of the Algommequins, now Ottawa river
22 Quebec
23 Lac de Champlain
24 The Place in Lake Champlain, where the Yroquois were defeated by said Sieur Champlain. This was in 1609.
25 Little Lake by which we go to the Yroquois after passing that of Champlain
26 Abenaquis
27 Lac de Quinebequi

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PLATE 2

Part of Sanson's map of 1656

1 Lac Supérieur
2 Lac de Puans
3 Oukouararenons. *Ronon* means nation.
4 Assistaeronons, ou Nation du Feu
5 Ariatoeronon
6 Couaeronon
7 Lac des Eaux de Mer
8 Aictaeronon
9 Squenquioronon
10 Astakouankaeronons
11 Skiaeronon
12 Cheveux relevés
13 Aouechissaronon
14 Elsouataironon
15 L. Nipissiriniens
16 Eachiciouachoronon
17 Nipissiriniens
18 Aossondi
19 Enchek
20 Karegnondi. Now Lake Huron
21 S. Simon, S. Jude
22 N. du Petun, ou Sanhionontateheronons
23 S. Pierre, S. Pol
24 S. Francois
25 N. D. des Anges
26 N. Neutre or Attiouandarons
27 S. Michel
28 S. Joseph
29 Alexis
30 Hurons
31 Oentaron L.
32 Sarontouaneronon
33 Chonchradeen
34 Algonquins
35 Quionontateronon ou Petite Nation de l'Isle ou Ehouqueronon
36 Otchiahen
37 Tonthataronon
38 Sault de S. Louys
39 Mont Real
40 R. des Prairies
41 Aentondae
42 Errahonanoate
43 Agoyaheno
44 Tarantou
45 Chiaentonan
46 Chaouaeronon
47 R. de Mons
48 L. S. Pierre
49 les Trois Rivières
50 L. S. Joseph
51 Sillery
52 Quebec
53 I. d'Orleans
54 L. Erie, ou Du Chat
55 Eriechronons ou N. du Chat
56 Ongiara Sault
57 Ontario, ou Lac de St Louys
58 Sonontouaerronons
59 Sovouaronon. Possibly Cayugas
60 Onneichronons
61 Onontagueronons
62 Anneronons
63 Iroquois
64 N. Sueden
65 Isle Capagiatehissins
66 Naroua Lac
67 Richelieu
68 L. Champlain
69 Andiataroque L. now Lake George
70 Oiogue R., Mohawk river
71 R. du Nort, Hudson river
72 Nouvelle Amsterdam
73 Nouveau Pays Bas, or New Netherland
74 Longe Eyland
75 N. Hollande
76 Socoquiois
77 N. Pleymouth
78 Nouvelle Angleterre
79 Ouabouquiquois
80 Abnaquiois
81 Quinibequi R.

From map of Sanson, 1656

PLATE 3

Part of Creuxius's map of 1660

1 Nipisirini. Most of his names are Latinized
2 Nipisirius Lacus
3 Nationes Algonquinae
4 Insula Algonquinorum
5 Hurons
6 Pagus Contehani-Kingius
7 Pagus Echiojus
8 P. Ethaowatius
9 P. Ondicius
10 Fl. S. Laurens
11 Insula ta Saronita. Probably Toniata
12 P. Otatacte
13 P. Ondatoius
14 Oionenii. Early name of Cayugas
15 P. Ondiasacus
16 Sonnonteronii, or Senecas. Iroquois names and cantons are both given
17 Lacus Iroquiorum. Onondaga lake
18 Oigoenronii. Oneidas
19 Onontaeronii. Onondagas
20 Pagus Oionenius. Cayuga
21 Lacus Oiggoenronius, Oneida lake, but nearer the latter Cayuga name
22 Agnieronii. Mohawks. The river is called Fl. Agnieus, and some southern and eastern streams have names.
23 Lacus Arokoueus
24 I. Montis Regalis. Montreal
25 Insula ferinae absidant
26 Natio Algonquinorum minor
27 Lac Ogus
28 Abnaquioii
29 Soquoquioii
30 Natio Luporii
31 Agnieus pagus
32 Andastoeii, seu Natio perticarum
33 Pasitigsecii
34 Saltus Astiaius
35 L. Champlain
36 L. Ontario
37 Natio Surrectorum Capillarum
38 Mare Dulce seu Lacus Huronum
39 S. Simoni et Judo. Missions
40 P. Ethanaaenius
41 S. Petri et S. Pauli
42 P. S. Kenchioetontens
43 P. Assistoius. Nation of Fire
44 P. Ondatonius
45 P. Teoronius
46 Lacus Aquarum Marinarum
47 P. Onnonderetius
48 Natio Felium. Eries
49 S. Francisci
50 N. D. Ange. In Neutral country
51 S. Michelis
52 S. Josephi
53 S. Alexis
54 Gens Neutral
55 P. Annachiaius
56 P. Otontaronius
57 Ongiara Cattaracta
58 P. Ondieronii
59 Lacus Erius seu Felis

Creuxius's chart of the Huron country, with the same map

1 Insula Gahoedoe
2 P. Etondatratius
3 Iondaken
4 Ouenrio
5 Karenhassa
6 Insula Ordiatara and Ascension
7 S. Charles
8 Schion de Liaria
9 Arenta. S. Magdalene
10 Lacus Contarea
11 S. Xavier
12 Concepcion
13 S. Maria
14 Raoaa
15 S. Louis
16 S. Dionysius

From map of Creuxius, 1660

Huron country

17 Caldaria
18 S. Michel
19 S. John
20 S. Joachim
21 Arethsi
22 S. Ignatius
23 Gaion Reate
24 S. Elizabeth
25 S. John Baptist
26 P. Ethaouatius
27 Anatari
28 L. Anaouites
29 Lacus Ouentaronius

PLATE 4

Coronelli's map of 1688

1 Lac Huron ou Mer Douce des Hurons
2 Ekaenton Isle
3 Michilimackinac
4 R. Francois
5 Missisaghá
6 Lac Nipissing or Skekoven
7 Sorciers
8 Allumettes. Isle du Borgne
9 Sault des Calumets
10 Ottawa or Huron river
11 Beaver hunting grounds of Loups and Iroquois
12 River flowing from L. Taronto into L. Huron
13 Road by which the Iroquois go to the Ottawas
14, 15 Cayuga villages of Teyoyagon, Ganatchekiagon, Ganeraské and Kentsio
16 L. and R. de Tanouate Kenté
17 Tontiarenhé
18 Ohaté
19 Onondkouy
20 Sault des Chats
21 Petite Nation
22 Long Sault (of the Ottawa.)
23 Otondiata
24 Baye de Sikonam
25 Tsiketo or L. Chaudière, now L. St Clair
26 Very beautiful river. The Iroquois have destroyed most of the inhabitants
27 Shawnees
28 Outlet of L. Huron
29 Atiragenrega, nation détruite
30 Antouaronons, nation détruite
31 Niagagarega, nation détruite
32 Lac Teiocharontiong dit communement Lac Erie. Called Techaronkion in 1670
33 L. Erie. It is said here that this is not Lake Erie, commonly so called, but "Erie est une partie de la Baye de Chesapeack dans la Virginie, ou les Eriechronons ont toujours démeuré."
34 Ohio river, called so because of its beauty or size
35 Lac Oniasont, now Chautauqua lake
36 Les Oniasont-Keronons
37 Lac Ontario ou de Frontenac
38 Marshes and fishing ponds along the lake shores
39 Ka Kouagoga, nation détruite
40 Senecas
41 Negateca fontaine
42 Cayugas
43 The largest vessels are able to navigate from here to the end of L. Frontenac
44 Cahihonoüaghé, place where most of the Loups and Iroquois land to go in the beaver trade to New York, by road marked by double rows of marks
45 Corlar, or Schenectady
46 Albany, formerly Fort Orange
47 North river
48 L. Champlain
49 Lac du St Sacrement
50 R. Richelieu
51 Sorel R.
52 Savages called Mahingans or Socoquis

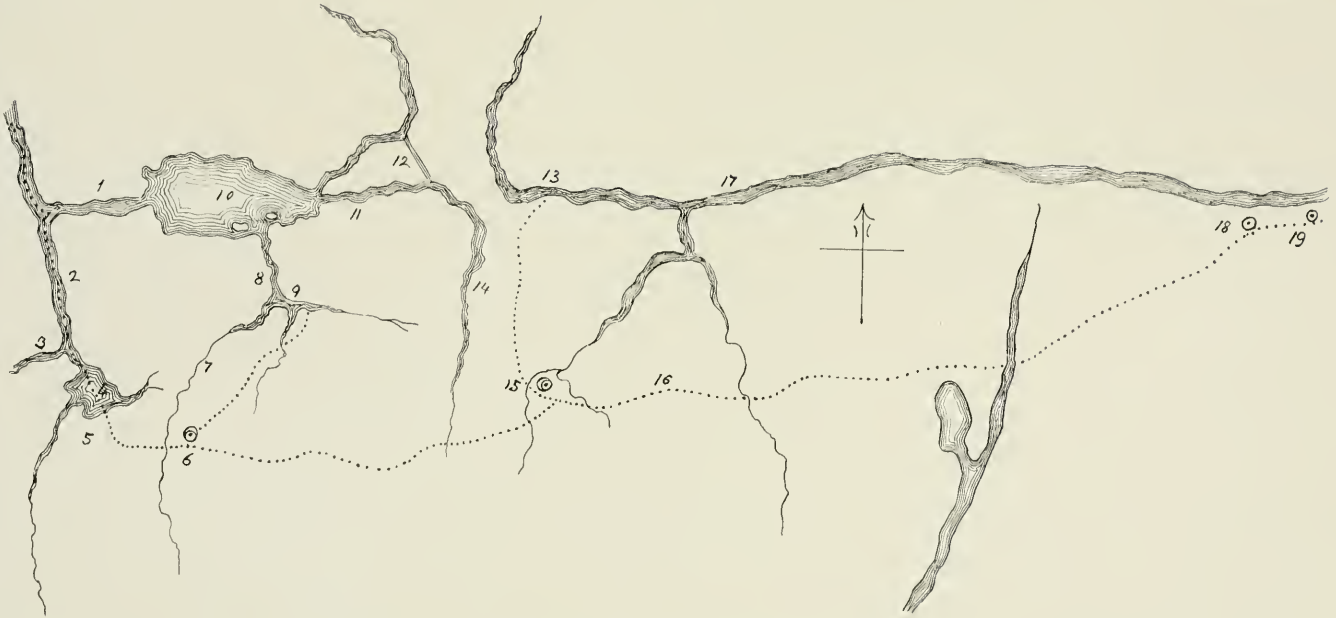
From map of Coronelli, 1688

PLATE 5

Part of Colonel Romer's map of 1700

He went only to the Oswego river, and west of that his map is fanciful.

1 Onondages R., now Oneida
2 Cananda river, now Seneca
3 Cajouge river, now Seneca
4 Cananda lake, now Onondaga. Kaneenda usually
5 Salt pan, the salt springs
6 Onondages. Onondaga, then on east side of Butternut creek
7 Kechioiahte, now Butternut creek
8 Quiehook, now Chittenango creek
9 Sachnawarage, selected for fort. Variously spelled
10 Onydes lake
11 Wood kill
12 Great Carrying Place. Curiously out of place
13 Carrying Place, now Rome N. Y.
14 Beaver Kill, now Oneida creek
15 Onyedes. Old Oneida in Oneida county
16 The old trail which he followed. Smaller trails are shown.
17 Maquas river
18 Third Maquas Castle, called Daganahoge
19 Second Maquas Castle. The first he placed on the north side of the Mohawk, opposite Schoharie creek. The Oswego river he called by its present name.



From Colonel Romer's map, 1700

PLATE 6

Charlevoix's map of 1745

1 Fort Niagara
2 Le Grand Marais
3 Petite Riv. aux Boeufs
4 R. aux Boeufs
5 R. S. Aubin
6 R. Noire
7 R. Gaskonchiagon, i. e. River of the falls, Genesee river
8 R. des Sonnontouans, i. e. River of the Senecas, which is properly the Seneca river of that day. The river on the map has no existence.
9 Ganientaragouat, ou R. des Sables. Irondequoit bay
10 Baye des Goyogouins, or Cayugas. Sodus bay
11 Lac des Latrons. Little Sodus bay
12 Rivière inconnue aux Geographes qui est remplie de Saults et de Cascades. Upper part of Genesee river
13 Tsonnontouans, or Senecas
14 Fontaine Brulante, the noted burning spring
15 Lac Thiohero, Cayuga lake
16 Goyogouen, or Cayuga
17 Lac Asco, now Owasco
18 Lac Scaniatores, now Skaneateles
19 Onontatacet, a Cayuga village on Seneca river
20 L. Tiocton, now Cross lake
21 Lac Ganentaha, now Onondaga lake
22 Onontagues, or Onondagas
23 Techirogen, Indian name of Brewerton, from the lake
24 Lac Techirogen, Oneida lake
25 Onnejioust, Oneida
26 R. des Onontagues, Oswego river
27 Fort de Choueguen, Oswego
28 R. de La Grosse Ecorce, Salmon creek or Little Salmon river
29 La Petite Famine, Grindstone creek
30 La Grande Famine, Salmon river
31 R. de la Planche, Little Sandy creek
32 R. des Sables, Sandy creek
33 R. de l'Assomption, Stony brook
34 Baye de Niaoure, Chaumont bay
35 Pt. de la Traverse
36 I. aux Galots
37 Same
38 I. au Renard
39 I. aux Chevreuils
40 I. Tonti
41 Kente, now Quinté
42 Gannejouts
43 Fort Frontenac, often called Cataraqui
44 Baye de Cataracouy
45 R. Ouagaron. He placed the Iroquois villages of Tejaiagon, Gandatsiagon, Ganaraske, Tannaoute, Kenté and Gannejouts on the north side of Lake Ontario.

From map of Charlevoix, 1745

PLATE 7

M. de Pouchot's map of 1758

1 R. Chenonda, now Chippewa river
2 Fort Niagara
3 Niagara portage
4 Kanoagoa, Seneca village
5 Schatacoin R., outlet of Chautauqua lake
6 R. a la terre puante, Cattaraugus creek, meaning the same
7 R. Kaeouagegein, Eighteen Mile creek, or Creek of the Kahkwahs
8 R. au boiblanc, from its Indian name of Basswood creek, Buffalo creek
9 Grende R. au beufs
10 R. Gascon chagon. Genesee river, Indian name for the falls
11 Baye et F. des Sable. Now Irondequoit bay
12 Baye de goyogoins, Bay of the Cayugas. Sodus bay
13 Les Boucauts, Little Sodus bay
14 Kanvagen, Seneca village
15 Connectxio, Geneseo
16 Kanonskegon, Seneca village
17 Oneotade. Probably the village farther west
18 Kanestio, now Canisteo
19 Kaygen
20 Kayjen. Delaware villages
21 Knacto
22 Theaggen or Tioga
23 R. de Kanestio
24 East branch of the Susquehanna
25 Runonvea, village near Chemung river
26 Anjagen, Seneca village
27 Kanentagon; perhaps for Canandaigua
28 Kanentage, Canandaigua, but at the wrong end of the lake
29 Kaensatague, eastern Seneca castle
30 Kendae, village on the east side of Seneca lake
31 Oeyendehit, a name placed between Seneca and Cayuga lakes
32 V. Goyogoin. Cayuga
33 R. des 5 Nations. Now Seneca river
34 V. Onontague
35 V. Onoyote
36 Chouegen or Oswego
37 R. de Chouegen
38 R. au Chicots, or Wood creek
39 F. Stenix, Fort Stanwix
40 R. à M. le Contte
41 Bay de Niaoure, Chaumont bay

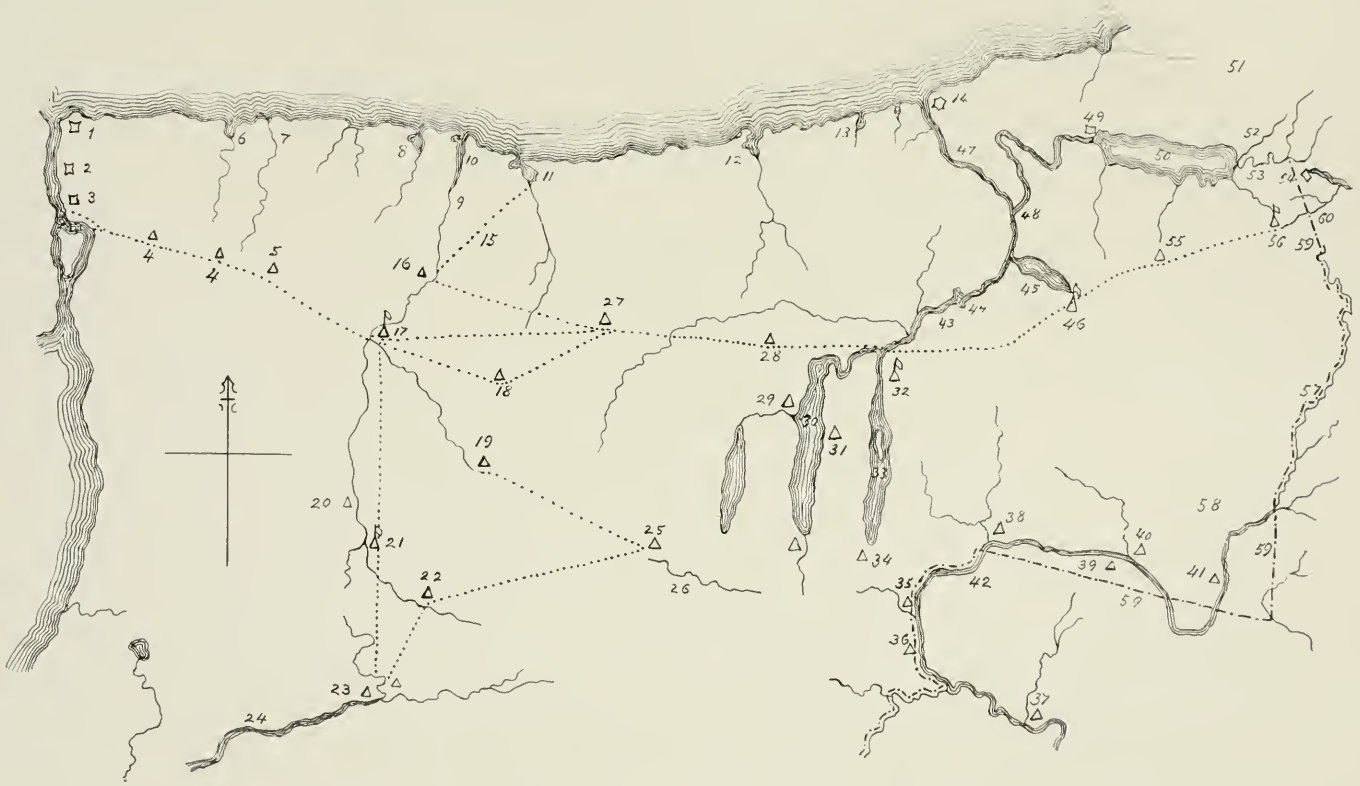
From map of M. Pouchot, 1758

PLATE 8

Part of Col. Guy Johnson's map of 1771

1 Fort Niagara
2 Great Falls
3 Fort Sclosser
4, 5 Small villages
6 Johnson's Harbor
7 Tiyanagarunte creek
8 Prideauk bay
9 Little Seneca Rr. now Genesee river
10 Falls very high
11 Adiarundaquat, now Irondequoit bay
12 Aserotus. "Aserotus harbour is capable of receiving Vessels of Burden." Now Sodus bay
13 Little Sodus
14 Fort Ontario
15 Indian path to the lake
16 Canawagus, now Avon
17 Chenussio, now Geneseo
18 Anarara, now Honeoye
19 Ganuskago, now Dansville
20 Onondarka
21 Karaghiyadirha, now Caneadea
22 Gistaguat
23 Tioniongarunte
24 Ohio or Allegany River as it is called above Fort Pitt
25 Kanestio, with mixed population
26 Sinsink, a Munsey town
27 Canadaragey, now Canandaigua
28 Canadasegy, near Geneva
29 Unnamed, but is Kashong
30 Seneca Lake
31 Unnamed, but is Kendaia
32 Cayuga. There were several villages.
33 Cayuga L.
34 Toderighrono, an adopted people
35 Tiaoga, a Delaware town
36 Sheshecunnunk
37 Wialoosin
38 Owegy, now Owego
39 Chughnutt, now Choconut
40 Otsiningo, now Chenango. Mostly Nanticokes
41 Onoghquagy, now Oquaga. Oneidas and Tuscaroras
42 East branch of the Susquehanna
43 Great Seneca, now Seneca river
44 Glass L., now Cross lake
45 Salt L., now Onondaga lake
46 Onondaga
47 Onondaga Rr., now Oswego river
48 3 Rivers, junction of Seneca, Oneida and Oswego rivers
49 Fort Brewerton
50 Oneida Lake
51 This Country belongs to the Oneidas.
52 Fish Cr.
53 Wood Cr.
54 Fort Stanwix
55 Ganaghsaraga, a Tuscarora Town. "The Tuscaroras who form the sixth Nation are omitted, being a southern People that live on lands allotted them between Oneida & Onondaga."
56 Oneida. This is Old Oneida, near Oriskany creek.
57 Tienaderha River, now Unadilla
58 "The Villages on the East Branch of Susquehannah are chiefly occupied by Oneidas and Tuscaroras."
59 "The Boundary Settled with the Indians in 1768."
60 Orisca, now Oriskany creek

"The Mohocks are not mentioned as they reside within the limits of N. York at Fort Hunter & Conajoharie." North of the towns along the Mohawk river, it is said, "The Boundary of New York not being closed this part of the Country still belongs to the Mohocks."



From Col. Guy Johnson's map, 1771

PLATE 9

Condensed from Morgan's "Map of Ho-de-no-sau-nee-ga, or the Territories of the People of the Long House." 1851

This gives names of places mostly as known to the Senecas. The location of Indian towns is hardly satisfactory. Many of colonial days are omitted, while a few are retained, and it is hard to say precisely what period it represents. So valuable a contribution to New York ethnology should have recognition in any history of the Six Nations; and, while much will be omitted, some additional information will be supplied.

1 Lake Erie. Do'-sho-weh Te-car-ne-o-di, the first word being the name of Buffalo, and the latter standing for lake. It had many names.
2 Lake Ontario. Ne-ah'-ga Te-car-ne-o-di, or Lake at Niagara
3 Grand river, Canada. Swa'-geh, Flowing out, once applied to Lake Erie
4 Burlington bay. De-o-na'-sa-de-o, Where the Sand forms a Bar
5 Toronto. De'on-do, Log Floating on the Water
6 Kingston. Ga-dai-o'-que, Fort in the Water
7 Wolfe island. De-a'-wone-da-ga-han'-da
8 St Lawrence river. Ga-na-wa'-ga, The Rapid River
9 Dunkirk. Ga-na'-da-wa-o, Running through the Hemlocks
10 Cattaraugus creek and Indian village. Ga'-da-des-ga-o, Fetid Banks
11 Chautauqua lake. Cha-da'-queh, Place where One was lost. Several interpretations
12 Conewango river. Ga'-no-wun-go, In the Rapids
13 Indian village on the Allegany river. De-o'-na-ga-no, Cold Spring
14 Indian village on the Allegany river. Jo'-ne-a-dih, Beyond the Great Bend
15 Oil spring Indian village, Te-car-nohs, Dropping Oil
16 Canisteo. Te-car'-nase-te-o, Board on the Water
17 Allegany river. O-hee-yo, Beautiful River
18 Buffalo. Do'-sho-weh, Splitting the Fork. Most others render it Place of Basswoods.
19 Near Buffalo were Red Jacket's village, Te-kise'-da-ne-yout, Place of the Bell, and Ga-sko'-sa-da, Village at the Falls. The Onondaga village is unnoted.
20 Carrying place village. Gwa'-u-gweh, Place of taking out Boats
21 Niagara river. Ne-ah'-ga, A Neck
22 Ne-ah'-ga. Indian village of the 18th century at the mouth of Niagara river
23 Tuscarora village. Ga'-a-no-geh, On the Mountain
24 Oak Orchard creek. Da-ge-a'-no-ga-unt, Two Sticks coming together
25 Tonawanda Indian village. Ta'-na-wun-da, Swift Water
26 Bend Indian village on the Allegany river. Da'-u-de-hok-to, At the Bend
27 Genesee river. Gen-nis'-he-yo, Beautiful Valley
28 Caneadea. Ga-o'-ya-de-o, Where the Heavens lean on the Earth, Indian village
29 Indian village of O-wa-is'-ki, Under the Banks

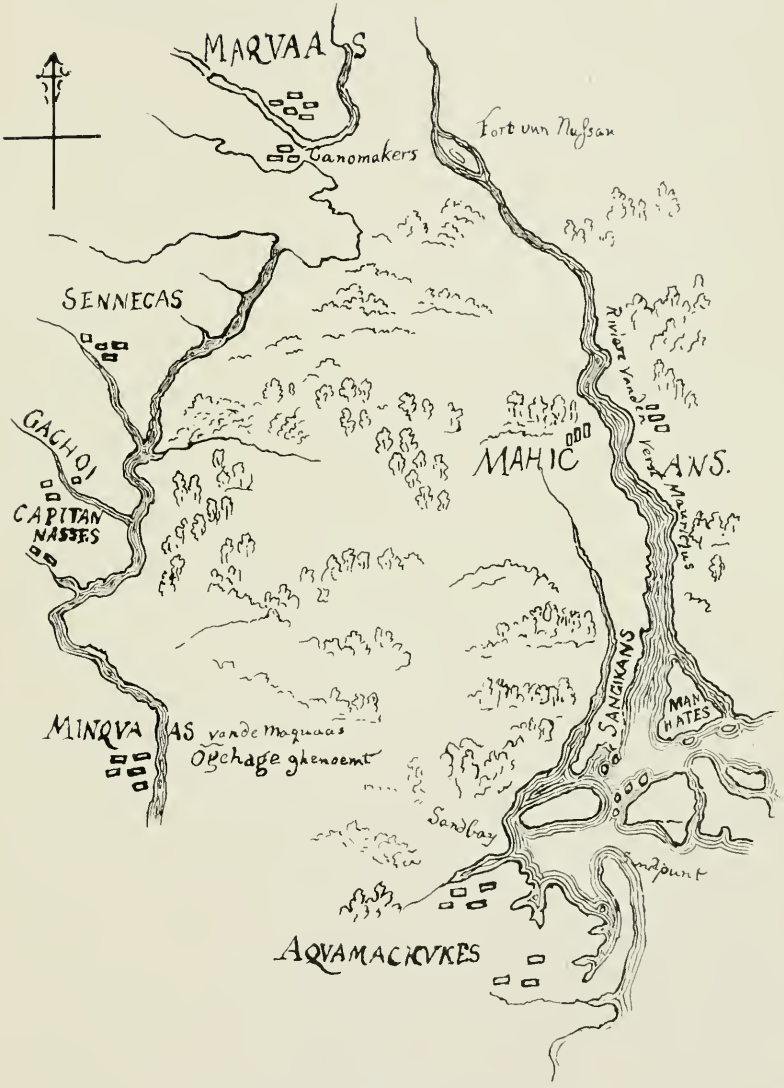
Arranged from Morgan's map of 1851

30 Indian village of Gardow. Ga-da'-o, Bank in Front
31 Several villages were clustered here. O-ha-di, Crowding the Bank, was a Tuscarora village; Squakie Hill, or Da-yo'-it-ga-o, Where the River Comes out of the Hills, was a Seneca town, as were the following. Ga-neh'-da-on-tweh, Where Hemlock was Spilled, was on the site of Moscow. Little Beard's town was De-o-nun'-da-ga-a, Where the Hill is Near. Big Tree village was Ga-un-do'-wa-na, Big Tree. So-no'-jo-wau-ga, or Big Kettle, was at Mount Morris.
32 Ga-no'-wau-ges, Fetid Waters, Indian village near Avon Springs
33 Former Indian village at Dansville. Ga-nus'-ga-go, Among the Milkweed
34 Village near Livonia. De-o'-de-sote, The Spring. A little northeast was the village of Ska-hase'-ga-o, Once a Long Creek, near Lima.
35 Early village of Da-yo'-de-hok-to, A Bended Creek, on Honeoye creek
36 Early village at Victor. Ga-o'-sa-ga-o, In the Basswood Country
37 Village at Canandaigua. Ga'-nun-da-gwa, Place chosen for a Settlement
38 Supposed village near Naples. Nun'-da-wa-o, Great Hill
39 Village at Kashong, west of Seneca lake, Gar-naw-quash
40 Village near Geneva. Ga-nun'-da-sa'-ga, New Settlement village. Others unnoticed.
41 Tioga Point. Ta-yo'-ga, At the Forks, a village of Delawares
42 Elmira. Skwe'-do-a, Great Plain. Many villages in this region
43 Owego. Ah-wa'-ga, Where the Valley widens, abandoned village. Morgan hardly notes those on the Susquehanna.
44 Village near Ithaca. Ne-o'-dak-he-at, At the End of the Lake
45 Village at Canoga. Ga-no'-geh, Oil on the Water
46 Waterloo. Skoi'-yase, Place of Whortleberries; usually interpreted Long Falls
47 Village at Union Springs. Ge-wa'-ga, Promontory Running out
48 Two others south of this: Gwa-u-gweh, At the Mucky Land, and Ga-ya'-ga-an'-ha, Inclined downward. There were others.
49 Oswego or Swa-geh river, Flowing out
50 Four Onondaga villages are given and are not well located. Gis-twe-ah'-na, Little Man, at Onondaga Valley; Onondaga Castle, Ka-na-ta-go'-wa, Big Village, at the council house; Nun-ta-sa'-sis, Going Partly round a Hill, are three of these.
51 Tu-e-a-das'-so, Hemlock Knots in the Water, was farther east.
52 Ga-no'-a-lo'-hale, Head on a Pole, now Oneida Castle
53 Ga-na'-doque, Empty Village, an abandoned village near the last
54 A Stockbridge Indian village called Ah-gote'-sa-ga-nage. Old Oneida and the Tuscarora towns are not mentioned.
55 Ta-ga'-soke, Forked like a Spear, Indian village on Fish creek
56 A village on the site of Camden was Ho-sta-yun'-twa.
57 The portage at Rome was called Da-ya'-hoo-wa'-quat, Carrying Place; and this name was given to the Mohawk river above Herkimer.
58 West Canada creek. Te-ah-o'-ge, At the Forks, applied to the Mohawk
59 Village in Danube. Ga-ne'-ga-ha'-ga, Possessor of the Flint. Really the later Canajoharie.
60 Fonda. Indian village of Ga-na-wa'-da, On the Rapids
61 Fort Hunter. Indian village of Te-ah'-ton-ta-lo-ga, Two Streams meeting

62 Middle Mohawk castle at Fort Plain. Can-a-jo-hi'-e, Washing the Basin
63 Johnstown. Ko-la-ne'-ka, Indian Superintendent
64 Schenectady. O-no-a-la-gone'-na, In the Head
65 Albany. Ska'-neh-ta'-de, Beyond the Openings
66 Village north of Binghamton. O-che-nang', Bull Thistles.
67 Susquehanna river. Ga'-wa-no-wa'-na-neh, Great Island River
68 Delaware river. Ska-hun-do'-wa, In the Plains
69 Ticonderoga. Je-hone-ta-lo'-ga, Noisy
70 Lake Champlain or O-ne-a-da'-lote
71 Little Salmon creek. Ga-nun-ta-sko'-na, Large Bark
72 Salmon river. Ga-hen-wa'-ga, A Creek
73 Sandy creek. Te-ka'-da-o-ga'-he, Sloping Banks
74 Black river. Ka-hu-ah'-go, Great or Wide River. This is erroneously printed Ka-me-par-go in Squier's *Antiquities of New York.*
75 Indian river. O-je'-quack, Nut River
76 Oswegatchie, or O'-swa-gatch river
77 St Regis. Ah-qua-sos'-ne, Partridges drumming

PLATE 10

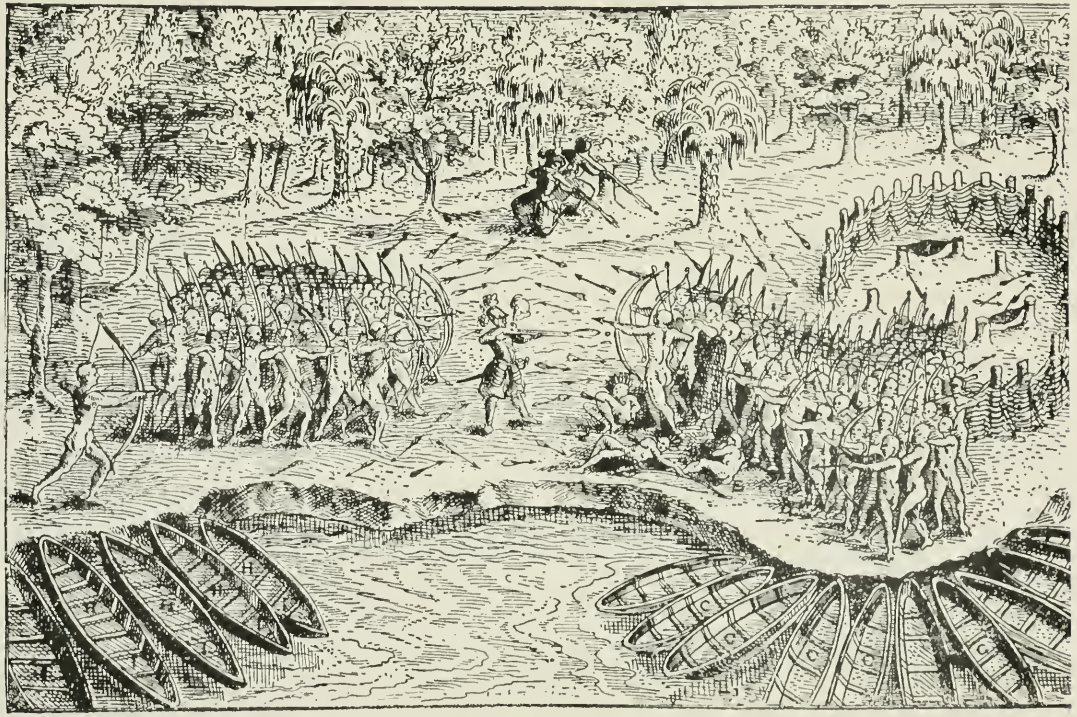
Part of the Dutch figurative chart annexed to the memorial of Aug. 18, 1616, which was made from the map of 1614, and accurately copied for the *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York,* volume 1. They are the earliest maps we have of the interior of New York and are remarkable for giving the two divisions of the Five Nations always made by the Dutch; those of the Maquas or Mohawks and the Senecas. The maps are based on the reports of some Dutchmen, carried as captives into the interior and afterward ransomed



From Dutch map, 1616

PLATE 11

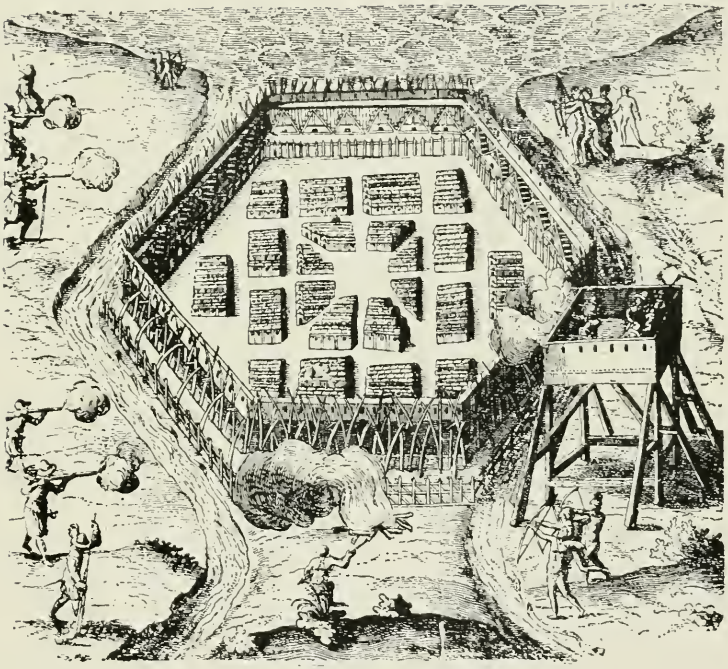
Champlain's sketch of the battle near Ticonderoga, July 30, 1609. The letters refer to his key. The view places the Iroquois north of his party, and has but a moderate value, though something may be learned from it. One Iroquois shield appears, but no other defensive armor. Most draw the bow with the right hand, but some with the left. The canoes are by no means typical and the less said about perspective the better. The picture appeared in the edition of 1613 with this key. A (wanting), the fort; B, enemy; C, oak bark canoes of the enemy, holding 10, 15 or 18 men each; D, two chiefs who were killed; E, an enemy wounded by Champlain's musket; F (wanting), Champlain; G (wanting), two musketeers; H, canoes of the allies, Montagnais, Ochastaiguins and Algonquins, who are above; I (also on the), birch bark canoes of the allies; K (wanting), woods.



Champlain's sketch of the battle near Ticonderoga, July 30, 1609

PLATE 12

Champlain's attack on an Iroquois fort, October 1615. The fort extended into the shallow pond where canoes could not be used. The spot was satisfatorily identified by Gen. John S. Clark of Auburn, many years ago, and is in the Oneida territory about 3 miles east of Perryville. It was probably soon abandoned for a stronger position nor does it seem to have been long occupied, but a number of open caches may be seen on the higher lands not far off. A careful plan of the place may be seen in the bulletin on the *Aboriginal Occupation of New York*. In the picture much must be allowed for the fancy of the artist.

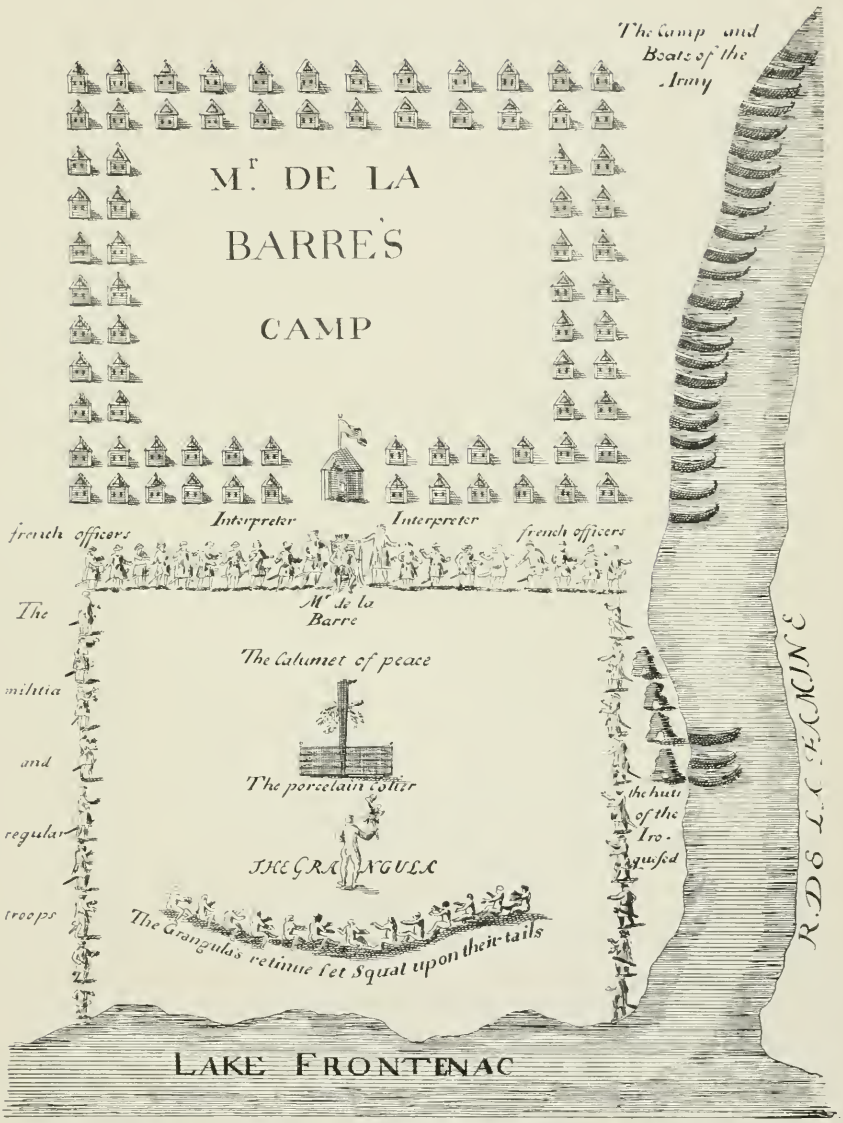


The Onondaga Fort

[After Champlain's sketch]

PLATE 13

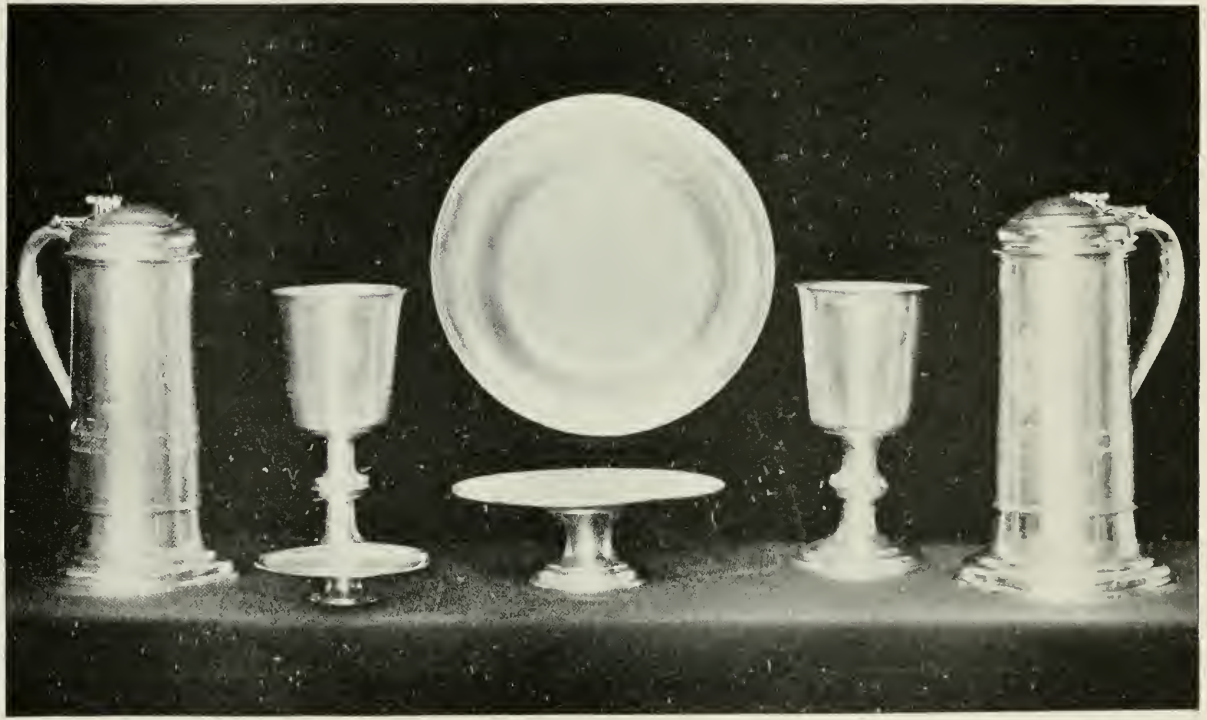
Lahontan's view of De la Barre's council at La Famine (Salmon River N. Y.) September 1684. An Onondaga chief is speaking, who is the famous orator usually called Garangula. The spot is at the mouth of Salmon river in Oswego county, on the north side, and represents fairly well the conditions of the picture. The place received its name in 1656 from the famished condition of the French colonists when they reached it. It had been intended for their habitation but the plan was changed. As a landing place on Lake Ontario it had long been a notable place of resort, and was the terminus of the beaver land trust deed. A fine picture of this council adorns the Flower Memorial Library building in Watertown, in which Lahontan's plan is followed in a general way. This was the Great La Famine river. A smaller stream farther west had the prefix of little.



Lahontan's view of De la Barre's council at La Famine September, 1684

PLATE 14

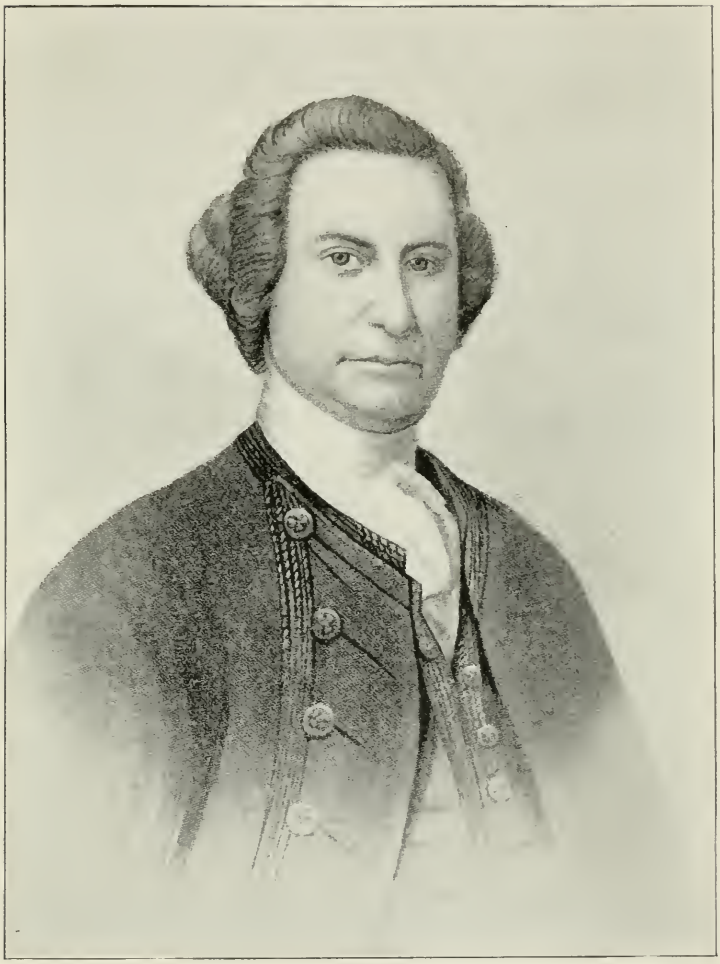
Communion plate presented by Queen Ann in 1712, "to her Indian Chappel of the Onondawgus," now in St Peter's Church, Albany N. Y. One of the cups was not in the set at first, but was supplied to conform to American usage. There was a supply of linen with this and the Mohawk set. The latter was long used in New York, but was taken to Canada at the close of the colonial period and divided between the two Mohawk settlements. Two pieces went to the Bay of Quinte and three to the Mohawks at Grand River. The inscription on the one retained at Albany reads: "The Gift of Her Majesty, Ann, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, and of their plantations in North America, Queen, to Her Indian Chappel of the Onondawgus." Each piece has centrally the British arms without supporters, with A on one side and R on the other. Each of the Onondaga flagons is 12½ inches, and the cup is 4½ inches across the top. The style is massive and simple. No date appears, but they were probably furnished not later than 1712.



Communion plate presented by Queen Anne in 1712, "to her Indian Chappel of the Onondawgus"

PLATE 15

Sir William Johnson, sole Indian superintendent in colonial times. Died in 1774. He was born in Ireland in 1715, and came to America in 1738 to manage his uncle's estate, soon becoming prominent in Indian affairs. In 1755 he was made a baronet for his services at Lake George. His published manuscript are voluminous, but a large collection in the New York State Library have not yet been published and are now being indexed. The plate is the best portrait accessible, but the *Documentary History of the State of New York*, 2:545, contains a good one published in 1756. An American soldier writing at Johnson Hall in 1776, said: "I had a view of Sir William Johnson's picture, which was curiously surrounded with all kinds of beads of Wampum, Indian curiosities, and trappings of Indian finery, which he had received in his treaties with the different Indian nations."



Wm Johnson

PLATE 16

George Romney's picture of Joseph Brant, painted in England in 1776, for the Earl of Warwick. In that year other pictures were made. Ten years later his picture was painted in England for the Duke of Northumberland, and in 1805 one of the best was made by Mr Ezra Ames of Albany, and copied by Catlin for Stone's *Life of Brant*. It is the frontispiece of the second volume. There is a fine statue of the Mohawk chief in Brantford, Canada. Of his portraits Romney's is the finest known.

Joseph Brant

PLATE 17

Monument to Red Jacket in Buffalo N. Y., unveiled June 22, 1891. Five Seneca chiefs were reinterred with him in 1884 and part of the headstones appear. Nine other Senecas were placed with them, but the names of these were unknown. There were imposing ceremonies under the auspices of the Buffalo Historical Society. In 1891 the monument was completed and unveiled on Forest Lawn, the Hon. David F. Day, making the oration. Red Jacket died in 1830, and was supposed to be 78 years old. His earlier and later names appear on the pedestal.

Monument to Red Jacket, Buffalo N. Y.

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